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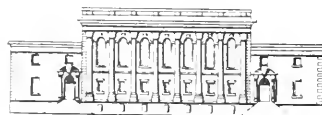
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SOCIALIZATION, DEVIANCY AND RADICALISM
IN
THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FIRST GENERATION OF THE WOMAN MOVEMENT

by
Tana Meier

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A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree with Honors
in Sociology

Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Virginia
May, 1974

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"Every young woman who is today enjoying the advantages of free schools, opportunities to earn a living and other enlarged rights for women, is a child of the woman suffrage movement."

Susan B. Anthony in a speech to the International Council of Women in London.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I The Ideal Of Womanhood in the Nineteenth Century
- II A Comparitive Analysis of Deviation from the Ideal :
 - Childhood
 - Education
 - Marriage
- III Deviation and Participation in the *Woman Movement*
- IV Conclusion
- V Diagrams of Family Structures

When Lucy Stone's greatgrandmother was growing-up in 18th century America, it is very likely that she possessed opportunities for a higher status and more expanded role than did her greatgranddaughter two generations later. For, it was not until the end of the colonial era that the idea of a suitable or proper sphere of feminine activities began to emerge in the United States.¹ Colonial women possessed occupational and political opportunities beyond those afforded their 19th century heirs. Although these opportunities were informal and not legally sanctioned, they were none-the-less exercised. Women were shopkeepers, barbers, tinworkers, and tanners² as well as judges, landlords and estate managers during this time.³ They likewise participated actively in public affairs. During Bacon's Rebellion, women gave speeches denouncing Governor Berkley and acted in an organizational capacity, calling meetings and spreading Bacon's Declaration. Even Madam Berkley herself participated by acting as her husband's emissary to the king, with complaints against Bacon.⁴ Throughout the 17th century, women often voted and in Maryland, a woman fulfilled the role of executrix of Governor Calvert.⁵ It was only towards the end of the 17th century that feminine involvement in politics, business and the professions began to be curbed. This change was attributed in part to the influence

of British example as well as to the decline of the frontier and the rise of a stable social order. This social order did not require the mobilization of all social actors to the height of their capacity and thus sanctioned the circumscription of some roles. The regulatory function of sex became reinstated with the stabilization of the social order and with it, a more constrictive classificatory function ensued.⁶ This classificatory function of sex manifested itself in the form of a pervasive sexual stereotype.

According to Spruille, American society was influenced by the devitalization of the English upperclass female. Up to the end of the 17th century, the aristocratic British female had been interested in national affairs, business, professional and managerial disciplines. However,

"The great increase in wealth and the vogue for frivolous entertainment following the Restoration discouraged the exercise of initiative, energy and independence in the conduct of practical affairs and brought about a rapid deterioration in the physique, the morale and the general efficiency of the upper class woman." ⁷

It thus occurred that those who enjoyed the advantages of wealth and refinement became increasingly content to fulfill the role of ornament. Their status was thus circumscribed.⁸

From the time of its inception in England, the concept

of the ornamental female had been a functional alternative only to the economically secure middle and upper classes. Although an alternative, it has not necessarily been a viable one. Even among the upper social strata in the United States, the evolving image of woman was often at odds with the realities of life.⁹

In spite of its conflicts, American society was soon under the influence of this trend. A landed aristocratic status group, imitative in values and life styles of its British counterpart, the landed gentry, was solidifying in early 18th century Virginia.¹⁰ This group provided a social strata susceptible to and relatively capable of supporting the new limited definition of femininity.

With the growth of towns and the recession of the frontier, a settled middle class began to emerge in the northeast and coastal regions which possessed the income and the leisure time to make the delimited female a functionally feasible institution, (if not an efficient one).

Women were no longer required to fulfill the multiple asexual roles required by frontier society. They were no longer as economically necessary to society as they previously had been. The decline of the isolated nuclear family

brought with it a rise in mechanical solidarity which depended upon the enactment of specific roles by each individual member. Since the woman of the house no longer needed to know how to plow the field, shoot a gun and care for the live stock in her husband's absence, she was more and more restricted to the home. Although women still possessed a degree of role latitude, it was quickly diminishing. As industrialization and urbanization progressed, the sphere of women shrank and a delimited female status/role became increasingly feasible. This re-defined and limited status/role rigidified into a stereotype. It took the form of an ideal of womanhood which reached its height from 1837 to 1901, during the reign of Queen Victoria. Referred to in general terms as the ideal of Victorian womanhood and in specific terms as the cult of the True Woman and The Home, it structured the social order both institutionally and interactionally during this period.¹¹

Various explanations have been given for the almost total internalization and expansion of this ideal in the 18th and 19th centuries. The influence of Queen Victoria as a role model cannot be denied.. Piety, purity, domesticity and marital submission were her accepted philosophy.¹² However, its application to American life is believed to be directly

related to the conditions and social structure of American society. Barbara Walters, a scholar on the subject, attributes the rise in the Cult of True Womanhood to two conditions of American life: masculine irreligion and social dynamism.

Miss Walters describes the primary function of the ideal of the True Woman as a panacea for male neglect of religious responsibilities.

"The Nineteenth-Century American man was a busy builder of bridges and railroads, at work long hours in a materialistic society. The religious values of his for bearers were neglected in practice if not in intent..." 14

In an attempt to assuage his guilty conscience, he left behind him a "hostage in the home," a prisoner to all the values he held so dearly, but treated so lightly.¹⁴ This prisoner, woman, became the one stabile factor amid the changing values and fortunes of an industrializing, modernizing society.

The Nineteenth Century was a time where;

"...fortunes rose and fell with frightening rapidity, where social and economic mobility provided instability as well as hope, one thing at least remained the same - a true woman was a true woman where ever she was found." 15

According to Welter, 19th century American society internalized this particular image of woman due to a need. Other authors have traced this need to the functional prerequisites

of the conjugal family system which placed heavy demands upon women. This system did not become general in the United States until the 1800's.¹⁶ The functions of this unit increased the domestic and pedagogic responsibilities of women and tied her to the home.

Maintenance of woman in the home became psychologically and functionally necessary. In order to sanction this need, society constructed a series of defensive beliefs, or myths which rationalized the position of women. These myths rose in response to the normative conflict between the ideals of natural rights and democracy and the functional and psychological prerequisites of American society which promoted sexual inequality.¹⁷

This system of defensive beliefs concentrated in four basic areas. The first of these was religion. Utilization was made of a biblical argument for female inferiority and inequity which, centered around a literal interpretation of St. Paul and his conception of marital duties.¹⁸ This evangelical theory permitted the Puritan concept of feminine role and circumscribed woman's activities, barring her from church office, public speaking and teaching and cognizance of theology.¹⁹ Among American Religious sects, only the Quakers



avoided this constrictive religious interpretation of sex-roles.

"...the Society of Friends stood alone as a group which recognized women's leadership as a permanent and settled rule of action."²⁰

Quaker women were preachers, teachers' theologians and church officials as were their male counterparts.

The second one of these rationalizations was biological in nature. Social theorists related function to biological structure. They attributed feminine character, status and role to genetic differences based on sex.²¹ Woman was regarded as a biologically inferior species who was innately unequal due to her weak physical nature and low intelligence.²² This inferiority determined her participation in society. It reinforced her domesticity. Her inferior strength, limited intelligence and sedentary habits were regarded as confining her within the domestic circle.²³ It also ensured her dependence on man, who was "destined by nature to guard and protect her."²⁴

If woman did dare to transgress her "biological capacities" and demand an equal position and function in society to that of men, she entered a third area of "myth": that of a philosophical denial of natural rights.²⁵ Natural rights, were regarded by men such as Chancellor William Harper and Noah Webster, as those which were utilitarian to the majority.

The functionalism of female subservience mitigated against any acquisition of the right of freedom by women.

A fourth area of defensive beliefs rests on the functional necessity of the status/role of women to the maintenance of the social order.²⁶ The existing system of female subjugation, substantiated by nature and religion, was necessary to the continuance of society. Alteration in the position or functions of women within society threatened to plunge the social system into chaos. In a sermon delivered to his Presbyterian congregation in Rhode Island, Rev. Jonathan F. Sterns threatened:

"Yours is to determine whether the beautiful order of society...shall continue as it has been, to be a source of blessings to the world; or whether, despoising all forms and distinctions, all boundaries and rules, society shall break-up and become a chaos of disjointed and unsightly elements." ²⁷

By and large, the order of society was considered to be beautiful. Romanticization and glorification of the existing sexual hierarchy was a fifth type of defensive belief.²⁸



Through a process of romanticization, feminine liabilities were transformed into desirable qualities and the inferior, unequal position of women in society was hailed as superior.

Throughout the 19th century, the home was glorified as the most worthy of spheres and the professions of wife and mother as most important. Through a process of conversion of opposites, domesticity was eulogized as the source of women's influence. The social realities of marriage and domesticity implied service and submission. However, it was through ascription to these institutions and their roles that woman attained her authority. The social influence of woman was acquired through correct enactment of the approved roles of wife, mother and housekeeper in the institution of marriage and the home.

Within the context of the home, social morals were guarded and society was preserved from excesses. Women enacted these functions as both sister and wife. 19th century literature speaks of the role of the true sister, as one who influences and entertains her brother so that he will not be forced to seek his pleasure away from home and thus be preserved from excess.²⁹ Similarly, the good auspices of the wife was credited with the moral preservation of her husband. And the

instruction of the mother with the virtue of the next generation. The home, thus functioned as a center of moral and social reform.

The confinement implicate in domesticity was thus artfully transformed into social utility and the home became the theatre of beneficent social change while the role of the wife and mother became that of a courageous reformer, ordained by God.

In a 19th century moral primer entitled, The Good Girl and True Woman, the author cites the sphere of activity which God has adapted women to fulfill. By her innate ability to carry physical and spiritual comfort to individuals, she is suited for nursing.³⁰ Due to her instinctive sympathy with the young, she may also be a teacher.³¹ However, her most important sphere of duty and that which represents the great field of woman's exploits, "is the home."³² Domesticity was seen as a fulfillment of the female character.

"...the true dignity and beauty of the female character seem to consist in a right understanding and faithful and cheerful performance of social and family duties." ³³

It enabled her to exercise her dual role of beauty and utility in a socially approved manner. Her function was to dispense

comfort and cheer ³⁴through her incorporated activities of wife - mother - nurse - teacher.

"The peculiar pronounced woman is to tend with patient a sick duty around the bed of sickness; to watch the feeble steps of infancy; to communicate to the young the elements of knowledge and bless with their smiles those of their friends who are declining in the vale of tears." ³⁵

These assigned occupational roles, among the most poorly paid, effectively kept women from competing with man in the better paid or more prestigious occupations such as medicine and law.

Although industry and useful activity was encouraged, it was assumed that woman's functions would not take her outside of the home. She was encouraged to engage in useful, morally uplifting tasks within the home. These included: housework, needlework, letter writing, sketching, singing, light reading and poor ^{7,}peopling. ³⁶ The last of these activities entailed more expressions of sympathy than action.

Domesticity was widely regarded as the completion of female education. The pervasive quality of this ethos was so great that even career women were made to conform to the same domestic standards as other women. Witness even the great feminist Susan B. Anthony who took immeasurable pride in a neat home. ³⁷

The place of domestic accomplishments in education is noted

in a brochure for Miss Pierce's school in Litchfield where students were regarded as having:

"attained the perfection of their characters when they could combine their elegant accomplishments with a turn for solid domestic virtues." 38

Education for women consisted mainly in acquisition of, "time filling accomplishments which would enable a woman to occupy her attention harmlessly, would improve her conversation, make her like a companion to her husband and in due course enable her to give her children rudimentary lessons." 39

Education was regarded as an enhancement of domesticity which made woman more amenable towards government by enabling her to see her own limitations.⁴⁰ Commenting on the educational system in America in the first part of the 19th century, Harriet Martineau reinforced this evaluation.

"The sum and substance of female education in America as in England, is training women to consider marriage as the sole object in life and to pretend that they do not think so." 41

Marriage was linked to the home as the proper sphere of women. It was regarded as that institution

"for which woman was originally intended, and to which she is so exactly fitted to adorn and bless as the wife, the mistress of a home, the solace, the aid, and the counsellor of that ONE, for whose sake alone the world is of any consequence to her." 42

Like domesticity, marriage itself was regarded as functional to the female character. It afforded scope to her energies, gave her a higher aims; a more dignified position and aided her salvation by placing her under the tuition of affection.⁴³

An inevitable result of marriage (in those days before effective contraception) was maternity. Hence, it too was regarded as an enhancement of feminine status. Maternity represented an increase in power and prestige. As Mrs. Sigourney noted:

"If in becomming a mother, you have reached the climax of your happiness you have also taken a higher place in the scale of being... you have gained an increase of power."⁴⁴

The role of mother accrued great social honor, for it was she who was depended upon to raise a generation of Christian statesmen and imbue in them the morality which their fathers were too busy to teach.⁴⁵ Maternity thus had a patriotic aspect.

Alternation or criticism of the virtues of domesticity, marriage and motherhood provoked strong reactionalism from society. Critics of any of the three were read-out of the sex and condemned to the role of semi-women and mental hermaphrodites. Such was the fate of Mary Wollstonecraft, Francis Wright and Harriet Martineau.⁴⁶ What resulted from

this romanticization of feminine liabilities was an ideal of womanhood which reinforced and glorified her enforced status and role. This ideal impinged upon all women in society, converting what society perscribed woman was not and could not do into what she must be and must do. The cult of the True Woman is the embodiment of this ideal of womanhood. The true woman embodied four cardinal virtues of: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Each of these was a social anaphronism for a sexual liability.

The relation of women to religion was pietistic in nature. Piety was the replacement virtue which society ascribed to women in compensation for a general loss of religious leadership. Religion was regarded as the core of woman's virtue and the source of her strength over which she exercised exclusive domain by virtue of divine appointment and natural disposition.⁴⁷

The theory of divine appointment attributed to women a religious mission of worldly redemption. Women were viewed as the moral conscience of society, committed to preserve man from the temptations and excesses of the world.⁴⁸ The enlightenment, improvement and harmonization of the Universe

were all within the feminine sphere.⁴⁹ Women were also regarded as possessing an almost genetic predisposition towards benevolence, rooted in their affective temperament.

Rev. Sterns said of woman

"She is fitted by nature to cheer the afflicted, elevate the depressed, minister to the wants of the feeble and diseased and lighten the burden of human misery." Fulfillment of their genetic predisposition enhanced feminine beauty."⁵⁰

Contemporary sources cite that "woman never looks lovelier than in her reverence for religion."⁵¹ Divinely and physiologically appointed, feminine pietism was regarded as functional to woman's position in the social order. It gave to her a dignity which suited her dependence. It also acted as an outlet for moral insobriety,⁵²

"...a kind of tranquilizer for the many undefined longings which swept even the most pious girl, and about which it was better to pray than to think."⁵³

Religion presented a safe avocation for the American woman which would relieve her boredom without endangering her domesticity or submission. It is significant, however, that female piety did not extend to those spheres of religion which reaped economic benefit. These were reserved for men while woman's role was too often that of fund raiser to

support the religious activity of the male clergy.

Parlour charity was an acceptable form of religious activity. Herein charitable sentiments were expressed which did not result in a physical commitment to their execution. Any active religious work was confined to charitable visits to the poor and sewing circles. The character of the religious commitment of the ideal female was essentially passive in nature and stressed deportment rather than reform. However, absence of this virtue was considered odious and resulted in ostracism from female society.⁵⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft was a 19th century female often accused of irreligion and the negative sanction she uncovered was great:

"as a reward for her unholy zeal, her name became a hissing and by-word in virtuous circles." ⁵⁵

Linked to piety was the virtue of purity. Regarded as a moral imperative, purity was also regarded an increment of femininity. It's absence was regarded as unnatural and resulted in ostracism and madness or death.⁵⁶

The high social value placed on purity correlated with the functional imperative of femininity: marriage. Female purity was enshrined in a cult of virginity. The ultimate function of female purity was to present it to her husband.

"The marriage nite was the single greatest event of a woman's life, when she bestowed her greatest treasure upon her husband, and from that time on was completely dependent upon him, an empty vessel without legal or emotional existance of her own." 57

For this reason it was necessary to place excessive social constraints around the cross-sexual interactions of woman. These constraints took the form of prudery. Prudery was a direct outgrowth of societies emphasis on virginity. It was regarded as a safe guard of purity which encouraged vigilance at all times in the continual struggle against the animalism of man which would take advantage of the slightest encouragement.⁵⁸ Both emotional and physical isolation of the sexes resulted from enthusiastic pursuit of purity through prudery. Women were exorted to prevent any close physical contact, even in their courtship practices. One manuel of feminine etiquette urged:

"sit not with another in a place that is too narrow: read not out of the same book; let not your eagerness to see anything induce you to place your head close to another person."
1837 A Young Lady's Friend 59

Prudery extended beyond the bounds of matrimony and gave rise to the practice of sexual anomnity in intercourse. One Victorian scholar observed:

"Ideally women would produce children by parthenogenesis: failing that, male

impregnation should take place in a dark bedroom into which the husband would creep to create his offspring in silence while the wife endured..."60

Throughout the life of the true woman, sex was tabu, an act dematerialized by the silence that surrounded it.

Excessive emphasis on physical isolation led to emotional isolation as an ideal. The Victorian Era witnessed a segmentalization of marriage and love which grew out of excessive prudery. This is demonstrated in a letter written by Lady Charlotte Neville-Grenville to her niece in the 1830's.

"Women are not like men, they cannot choose, not is it creditable or lady-like to be what is called in love; I believe that few, very few, well regulated minds ever have been and that romantic attachment is confined to novels and novel readers." 61

The 19th century may be noted as exhibiting a purity compulsion which was internalized in an ideal concept of femininity and generalized throughout society. Any alteration of feminine status/role was interpreted as an attack on woman's purity.

Submission, was, perhaps, the most pervasive of all the virtues of the true woman. It crossed all institutions and influenced feminine behavior in all social contexts.

Feminine submission was based on a genetic and religious estimation of woman's character as inferior and passive. This

estimation made subservence and dependence logical.

"A really sensible woman feels her dependence. She does what she can, but she is conscious of inferiority, and therefore grateful for support."⁶²

Social acceptance of this estimation also made passivity a sexual sterotype. Florence Nightengale's wrathful comments on the social origins of this virtue are applicable to the United States as to England. She noted that women,

"go about maudling to each other and teaching their daughters that women have no passion. In the conventional society, which men have made for women, and women have accepted, they must have none, they must act the force of hypocrisy and be that they are without passion- and must teach it to their daughters."⁶³

Passivity in love, learning and ambition all conspired to create an image of woman as a childlike, flexible, self-sacrificing individual "who had no arms other than gentleness."⁶⁴ It is ironic to note that although woman was taught to be passive, this passivity was solely self-directed. The ideal woman was one who devoted herself passionately to others; their mental spiritual and physical welfare.

Passivity was regarded as the core of domestic happiness. The primary role of the wife was that of submission. Advising a young girl before her marriage, Benjamin Rush stressed such virtues as: obsequiousness, agreeability, inoffensiveness and lack of contradiction.⁶⁵ Another father remonstrated his

daughter that:

"she must resolve at the onset(of her marriage) never to oppose her husband, never to show displeasure, no matter what he does." ⁶⁶

Sources agree, that from the day a true woman married, she must surrender her independent will and subscumb to the subordination of her sex. ⁶⁷ In all a woman's roles as wife, mother, lover and career woman, she was enjoined to accept submission. ⁶⁸ It was this submission, rooted in her weakness and dependence, which was the basis of her social influence. ⁶⁹ Thus, we find a conversion of opposites where women's weaknesses become her strengths.

The feminine virtue of submission was institutionalized in the legal system of the time. The 19th century female experienced an all but total lack of legal priveledges. Under the law, she maintained a status equal to that of a child or a lunatic. Her greatest liabilities came with marriage when she moved to fulfill her "ideal" role.

Although she exercised limited rights of inheritance, could not vote, hold office or serve on a jury, the unmarried female did have some rights. She could hold property, make contracts and engage in litigation on her own right. However, once she married, these slim perrogatives disappeared. Marriage promised woman a loss of:

"...all her legal capacities in exchange for what ever value the guardianship or protection of her husband might have." 70

Marriage suspended the legal existance of women and destroyed their separate identity.⁷¹ The legal disabilities of women, implicate in marriage originated in the premise that marriage was a union. Man and women became one, hence, man became the guardian of woman and there was no need for a duplication of legal rights.⁷² Reinforcing the "passive" sterotype of feminine nature, common law defined feminine perrogatives in negative terms. The married woman could not make contracts on her own. She was authorized to do so only as an agent of her husband. Nor could she enter into litigation on her own with the exception of matrimonial action before any ecclesiastical court. Similarly, she lacked the power to make a will, the disposal of her goods left up to her husband. This was not inconsistant in that they most probably fell under his legal ownership irregardless. Unable to bequeath anything to her children of her own free will, woman was also denied rights over her childern in the case of divorce. This would appear to be inconsistent with the myth of women's intrinsic suitability to domesticity and motherhood. In addition, women were not permitted to testify for or against their husbands in either civil or criminal suits.

Lacking these basic legal priveledges, women also lacked any economic independence through rights to property. Upon marriage, all personal property and possessions as well as all subsequent wages passed to the control and disposition of the husband. Even death did not return to the wife that which had been hers. The majority of the husbands estate past to his personal representative, usually the eldest son.⁷³

Inherited real property was also subject to the control if not the legal ownership of the husband. He acted as an enforced tenant, accruing the rents and profits of the land. With the birth of a live child, he became a tenant by curtesy.. Nevertheless, the husband was able to convey his interest in the land even though his wife, the legal owner was not able to do so without his consent. Upon his death, the property reverted to his wife or her heirs.⁷⁴

Land in life estate and land in lease automatically became the property of the husband upon marriage.⁷⁵ Thus we see that common law reinforced the virtue of submission by preventing any economic independence. The few benefits derived from marriage represent little recompense for the disabilities suffered. In the event of the husbands death, the 19th century wife was entitled to dower in the amount of one/third of the husbands estate. During his life time, she was entitled to his support.

In his capacity as guardian, he was made responsible for his wives' debts and for any criminal acts committed in his presence.⁷⁶

Only one safety valve existed in the 19th century which provided an alternative to the inequities of common law. This was the provision for a married woman's seperate estate in equity.⁷⁷ Through the medium of trust funds property could be designated as set aside for the exclusive use of a woman. This property was usually conveyed by a clearly written deed or will. Possession of property in equity entitled the woman to independent control and disposal. The ability to sue or be sued with respect to this separate estate or to make contracts enforceable against the separate estate was incumbent upon this state. Unfortunately, equity was not frequently used in United States as a remediation of common law.⁷⁸

In the 19th century, the married female stood before the law as a powerless entity, stripped of the right to her wages, property, children, civil procedure and even of the right to vote. The compensation offered her in fulfillment of her ideal role seems slight. Without the benefit of a political voice, remediation of her legal inequities appeared a hopeless task. Although defenders of the proper sphere of woman, such as John Ruskin attest to the social and political influence wielded by women within the home,⁷⁹ this romantic

fiction had little substance in legal fact. **Ascription** to the ideal image of womanhood with its committent domesticity and maternity only served to deprive women of their few legal rights, and replace them with an idealized concept of moral force. Exercise of this moral force was regarded as obviating the necessity of legal force.

Despite this ideological justification, a majority of 19th century females were beginning to question their lack of legal equality and with it the cult of the true woman and the home. Forces at work in society were compelling some women to counteract this ideal image and play a more creative role in society. Some of these forces included:

- 1) The movements for social reform, especially temperance and abolition
- 2) The westward migration
- 3) Missionary activity
- 4) Utopean communities
- 5) Industrialization
- 6) Civil war

All of these forced a response from women which ran counter to her prior status/role and socially prescribed value system.

Ironically, subscription to the cult itself was corasive to many of its values. The cult accentuated the polar virtuosity of the sexes and promoted feminine interference to improve the world. This led women out of the home and altered her functional attributes from passive to active and from

submission to competition. Similarly, the demands which the cult placed upon women were so excessive as to be unrealistic. The inability of women to duplicate the ideals led to self-recrimination and eventually to challenge. Mediating between the ideal and the real, women attempted to retain the virtues of the ideal cult while enlarging its scope. This resulted in the creation of a New Woman to replace the True Woman. Persistence of the mystic of what woman was or ought to be brought guilt and confusion to the New Woman. The realities of her new social experiences mediated against acceptance of the old myth and virtues. The conflict engendered resulted in a dislocation of values and a blurring of roles. Meanwhile, society marshalled its defensive beliefs and sought to convince woman that she possessed both virtue and power and that her traditional status/role was correct and an integral part of the social order.⁸⁰ The tension between the True Woman and The New Woman dominated the second half of the 19th century in the form of the Woman Movement. Opposition to the Woman Movement included male and female reactionaries alike who utilized many of the defensive beliefs of the time to substantiate the traditional status/role of women and the ideal of the True Woman. Among these, Horace Bushnell and Catherine Beecher are two eloquent spokesmen.

Horace Bushnell symbolizes the male-reactionary viewpoint. Writing in 1869, he argued against woman suffrage utilizing the defensive belief of genetically determined sexual characteristics. Femininity correlated with affection, sentimentality, passivity and emotionality. Masculinity exhibited traits of rationality, intellectuality, activity and morality.⁸¹ These traits correlated with the physical distinctions between the sexes. The height, muscular development, enlarged brain and physical strength of the male were identified with authority and command. The lighter, shorter and more graceful countenance of the woman appeared to imply sympathy, submission and dependence.⁸² Bushnell felt that sexual characteristics were predictive of talent and organization.

"Enterprise and high counsel belongs to one, also to batter the severities of fortune, conquers the raw materials of supply; ornamentation order, comfortable use, all favors, and garnishes and charms to the other."⁸³

Anatomical structural distinctions which implied functional distinctions suited the sexes to different spheres. Bushnell reasoned that the sphere of women was not inclusive of the political process.

"masculine carries, in the distribution of sex, the governmental function."⁸⁴

He saw little of the necessary authority in women and admitted that they exerted an influence over society only by virtue of male sufferance.

"We take pleasure not seldom in allowing women to rule us by the volunteering deference we pay to their womanhood."⁸⁵

Allegiance, rather than command was regarded as women's natural role. By this she was required to adhere to her husband, submits herself to his fortunes and go down with his ship.⁸⁶

Bushnell regarded suffrage as implying the right public office and therefore exercise of a quality of leadership which was contrary to the female notion. Subordination was woman's natural state, therefore, suffrage was regarded as a reform against nature and a virtual attack on their sex.

"they are put under authority by their nature itself, and if they will not take it as their priveledge to be,...they put contempt themselves on their womanhood."⁸⁷

Faithful to the cult of True Womanhood, Bushnell attested that women possessed a political and physical power of rule vested in their beauty and woman by virtues. True also to the theory of conversion of opposites, he sites that women's submission rendered them morally superior.

"The highest virtues, poorest in motives and really most difficult, are never to be looked for in the most forward and potentially regnant states." ⁸⁸

Bushnell felt that the effects of political life implied by suffrage would be destructive to the feminine character and constitution as well as to society at large. He posited that the nature of campaign life was fundamentally harmful to women. Its high key was regarded as putting too much strain on the female organism. With this emotional nature, she would be more liable to excess, weakening the moral context of both herself and her cause by over indulgence. Once corrupted she would become more debased and morally abandoned than her male counterpart, because of the essential purity of her nature. The presence of these corrupt female candidates would in turn corrupt the larger political system. Sex-based voting would ensure their perpetuation in office and pollute the entire political system. ⁸⁹ Political activity is thus viewed as contributing to the fall of womanhood into corruption and contempt.

Espousing a Darwinian orientation, Bushnell felt that a change in function would result in a change in constitution and structure.



"The look will be sharp, the voice will be harsh and shrill, the action will be angular and abrupt, williness, self-assertion, boldness, eagerness for place and power will get into the expression more and more distinctly, and become inbred in the Native Habit." 90

Not only would suffrage destroy the aesthetic feminine virtues of womanhood, but it would also result in a physical alteration.

Enfranchised womanhood was viewed as evolving into an androgenous race. A taller, brawnier female with bigger hands and feet and a heavier brain was visualized by Bushnell as the successive species of the enfranchised female.⁹¹ To Horace Bushnell, suffrage posed a threat to the entire race of women.

"When a woman has set herself up for a practical dittoship with man, refusing to accept the name of her husband, or have any but a partnership relation with him, she ceases to be a woman at all." 92

It posed an equal threat to the rest of society. Political activity was considered to be socially disfunctional. It would result in the deterioration of the family state. Celibacy divorce and delinquency would all result from the removal of women from the domestic into the political sphere.⁹³ Like many other critics of his time, Bushnell linked female suffrage to the decline of civilization. He felt that it would lead to a cataclysmic uphevel that admit no recovery.⁹⁴

Essentials, Bushnell saw no need for the enlargement of status and role which suffrage implied. He considered her prospects to be adequate within the context of her traditional status/role. He did not view women as politically oppressed due to the innate nature of her subjectivity. Nor did her subjectivity imply inferiority to him or a lack of power. Feminine influence was exercised through the traditional enactment of her role as wife and mother. Bushnell also believed that women possessed enough potential activity within their present role. Charitable and religious works supplied an inexhaustable reservoir of opportunities which would suffer without female attention.⁹⁵ He concludes by maintaining that woman's subject nature contains all the grandest possibilities of work and power and character available to her.

In his writings, Horace Bushnell brings to bear all the supportive beliefs that surrounds the cult^{of} true womanhood. He vocalizes the prejudices of society which confronted the early workers of the Woman Movement in their attempt to expand the role and alter the status of women.

"I want them exactly not to govern, not to vote, not to be the stamping power of assemblies; natures that go to make atmosphere, not to burn it up; who can be

apart, who can wait in silence, who can think it a priveledge not to be required in time of conflagration and assume it as their foner and more gentle lot to be in the sweetness of God, and keep some flavor of it for the flavorless and hardworn life of their husbands." 96

It was with such a pervasive ideal of womanhood that Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had to contend, twenty-one years after the first convention at Seneca Falls.

Catherine Beecher is widely regarded as the spokeswoman for feminine opposition to the Woman Movement. Although she shares with Horace Bushnell an opposition to woman suffrage, her argument is more functional than genetic. Through her work, she reveals herself as a family functionalist who views women's role in relation to the structure and function of the family. Her position is colored by a literal Biblical interpretation of the duties of position of a women. Therefore, while she binds the family woman to her subservient position and circumscribed role, she allows more leverage for the single female who is the product of social displacement.

young children to be followers of Christ.⁹⁷ Within this context, woman's function is the education of immortal minds through her example of meekness, gentleness, obedience and self-denying love.⁹⁸ This example, which requires moral as well as intellectual power, is acquired through the humble, laborious and daily duties of the family state.⁹⁹ Domesticity, is thus regarded as essential to motherhood.

The role of man within the family state is that of head, protector and provider. It is his duty to labor and through his training, to elevate woman for her high calling.¹⁰⁰

Ms. Beecher believed that feminine subjugation was rationalized in a political as well as a Christian context. It was her contention that woman was a subordinate in the family state just as her father, husband, brother and sons were subordinate in the civil states.¹⁰¹

Scripture presented the essential rationalization for female submissiveness. Ms. Beecher refers to the injunction of Ephesians: v:22 to 33

"Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the word." ¹⁰²

Utilizing a Biblical and a functional rationale, Catherine Beecher reinforces the submissive nature of women.

However, Ms. Beecher does assert that women share with



men the equal right to happiness and utility. Thus, she departs from the virtues of feminine passivity. Due to war, emigration and vicious indulgences, she asserts that the number of single women have increased. Lacking the love and protection secured by marriage, these women must turn to the charity of others or self support. In so doing, they are confronted by the unjust laws of society.¹⁰³ Structured to the assumption that all women are to marry and be supported by husbands, society makes no provision for the cases where these women do the ~~same~~ work and do it equally well. Thus, the single female is subject to unequal pay scales that violate her feminine rights to happiness and utility.¹⁰⁴ This, condition of social disequilibrium, according to Ms. Beecher, constitutes to basis of women's rights agitation. While she sanctions the right of women to equal pay for equal work, she does not recognize equality in rites of government and law. These, she feels, are predicated upon force for effectiveness. It is precisely this form which women lack.¹⁰⁵

While conforming to a portion of the cult of true womanhood, she did not accept it on its entirety. She like many 19th century women, was hampered by her excessive Christianity from ascribing to an equal status for women. Her Christian

emphasis on subservience was doubtlessly reinforced by an extensive study which she conducted on the state of female health. This study revealed to her that the standards of health among American women was so low as to obscure a correct idea of what a healthy woman was. The dependent nature of woman appeared triply evident to Ms. Beecher: scripturally, functionally and constitutionally. Although she makes concessions to the unfortunate women outside of matrimony, Ms. Beecher reinforces the domestic, submissive role of women. Her position epitomizes that of the average liberal but not liberated woman of her time.

Confronted by such a pervasive ideal one wonders what type of individual could rise-up in defiance of the norm. What characteristics set apart the leaders of the first generation of the Woman Movement as distinct from their less rebellious sisters? What characteristics did they share and in what ways did they differ? Lastly, what affect did their differences have on the role each would play within the Woman Movement? The remainder of this paper is an analysis of the lives and careers of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the four primary leaders of the first generation of the Woman Movement.

The basis of the Woman's Rights Movement as stated in the "Declaration of the Rights of Woman" at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, was a growing dissatisfaction with the socially prescribed status/role of women. At that time, feminine behavior was ascribed by a society which continuously and consciously refracted sex-related expectations on to woman as a minor cast back on image.¹⁰⁶ The feminine role was consistently shaped and formed by verbal and physical interactions, both directly and indirectly.

Confronting severe negative social sanction, the early leaders of the Woman Movement knowingly deviated from the approved norms of society. They rebelled against the traditionally ascriptive nature of their status and role by demanding equal sexual status as well as achieved roles.

What were the roots of this rebellion in the lives of the woman who led it? For most, it was not at first a conscious rejection of a male dominated society, polity and economy. Rather, it was a rejection of traditionally ascribed roles which preceded the rebellion against unequal status. This early role rejection was manifested in the enactment of deviant role patterns in childhood and later adulthood.

Perhaps one explanation for this deviance maybe found with-

in the process of socialization. Socialization is the process through which society instills its values and norms within the individual. Although a life-long procedure, socialization is carried on primarily in childhood through the motivation of the family, secondary groups, extra familial in nature, may also be active in this process.

Consideration of the lives of the leaders of the Woman Movement in the first generation indicates the presence of two separate processes of socialization. The first occurred in childhood, when forces were active which altered the traditional sexual role model either through socialization in a deviant subculture or individual enlightenment. The result was - confusion in sexual role patterning. The second process developed in adulthood when association with like-minded liberals preceded by involvement in social reform, promoted a re-evaluation of previous norms and values. The reinforcement of the pre-existing deviant concept of feminine status and role resulted. This deviant concept evolved into a new conception of feminine status and role. Ascription to this new conception of feminine status and role was manifested through involvement in the Woman Movement. Examination of the extra-domestic careers of these women reinforces this contention.

Let us turn to an assessment of the childhood, education, marriage and careers of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. By so doing, we may discover the process by which internalization of a deviant feminine role pattern was differentially affected and reinforced.

The four women examined here do share certain common characteristics. All four share a common geographic origin, having been both born and bred in the North. Childhood residence for all three was limited to the New York and/or Massachusetts area.

Of the four, Lucretia and Susan B. experienced the least continuity of residence. Born in Nantucket, Lucretia removed to Boston at the age of 12 and again to Philadelphia at the age of 16.¹⁰⁷ Alteration in residence accompanied alteration in paternal occupation. Originally the captain of a whaling vessel, Thomas Coffin assumed the occupation of commission merchant upon removal to Boston. Financial success combined with religious motivation prompted his removal to Philadelphia.

Like Lucretia, Susan B. was residentially mobile, moving twice before her 19th birthday. Born near Adams, Massachusetts,¹⁰⁸ she moved six years later to Battenville, New York. Thirteen years hence, Susan moved again to Hardscrabble, New York.

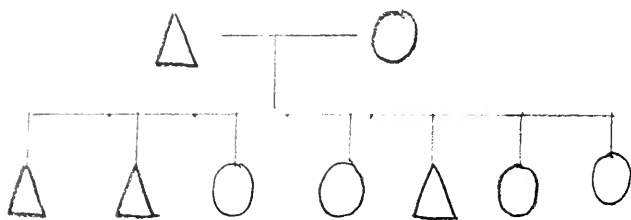
This intransigence was a function of financial instability which paralleled the fluctuating occupational role of her father. The first move to Battenville was a form of upward social mobility. Mr. Anthony utilized the profit from his successful textile mill in Adams to purchase a fine brick house in Battenville and a factory that "was the largest and most prosperous in that part of the country."¹⁰⁹ The second move to Hardscrabble however, exhibited reverse properties. The depression of 1838 necessitated a change in life-style. The Anthony girls were withdrawn from the fashionable seminary they were attending and their household goods were liquidated. Mr. Anthony was forced to take his family and retire to one of his smaller businesses in Hardscrabble, New York. At this time, Susan and her older sister Guelma began to teach.¹¹⁰

It is evident that in addition to residential instability, Susan's childhood was punctuated by alterations in income and life style. Her social status fluctuated between Upper Middle class, Middle Middle class and Lower Middle class. Stabilization occurred only in later life when Mr. Anthony embarked upon a prosperous career in insurance, after affecting a third move to Rochester, New York.

In contrast, both Lucy and Elizabeth possessed a residentially and financially stable childhood in a family whose social

Lucy Stone's
Family et Orientation
Chart

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION: LUCY STONE BLACKWELL (1818 - 1893)



PARENTS: Francis Stone - Hannah Matthews Stone

CHILDREN:

Francis
William Bowman
Elizabeth
Rhoda
Luthor
Lucy
Sarah

status remained fixed. Until her marriage at the age of 25 Elizabeth resided in Johnstown, New York with her father, a wealthy and much respected judge. Although residentially stable, she none-the-less experienced a degree of geographical mobility through traveling and visiting. During the years between school and marriage, Elizabeth was highly mobile, paying continual visits to friends and relatives throughout the state.¹¹¹ Even as a child, she made several journeys to places such as Saratoga, Utica, Niagra and Peterboro. Such a degree of unnecessary mobility was unusual for a Northern female in the 19th century.

In early childhood, Lucy Stone's mobility was circumscribed by her environment. The demands of her rural, agricultural environment and the large, extended household to which she belonged closed out any possibility of idle time and travel. As one of nine children on an active farm, Lucy had many tasks to perform.¹¹² It was Lucy's desire for education that functioned as the mobilizing force in her life. In spite of the secure financial position of her father, Lucy was educated almost entirely at her own expense on what we would today term a work-study program. Overriding the opposition of her father she intermittently attended and taught at

Quaboug Seminary, Wilbraham Academy and Mt. Holyoke Seminary, all in Massachusetts. Finally, at the age of 25, she attended Oberlin College in Ohio, the only co-educational college in the United States. Thus, although Lucys' familial residence remained stable, she did experience a considerable degree of geographical mobility in pursuit of her educational aims.

Although mobility promoted exposure to different influences, the primary family unit remained the structure most responsible for orientation in the childhood of these women.

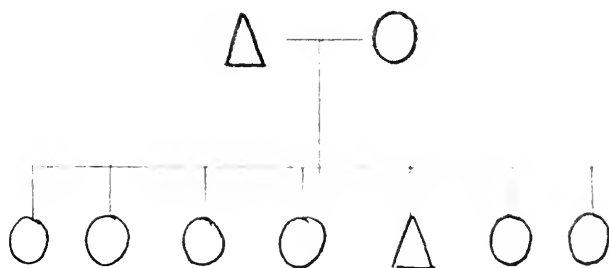
The family of ^{orientational} procreation, which made-up the majority of the social environment for each of these women, was large. Multiple siblings were characteristic of the natal family of Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan. Lucretia Coffin Mott issued from a family which included 7 children, Lucy from a family of 7, Elizabeth 6 and Susan 6.* In this respect all four women conformed to the demographic trend of the day which evinced large families.

Within each family, 8 possible relationships existed and exerted a differential influence upon the child. These were:

- mother - father
- mother - daughter
- mother - son
- father - daughter
- father - son
- brother - sister
- brother - brother
- sister - sister

*Measured in surviving children

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION: LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT (1793 - 1880)



PARENTS: Thomas Coffin - Anna Folger Coffin

CHILDREN:

Sarah

Lucretia

Mary

Thomas Mayhew

Martha

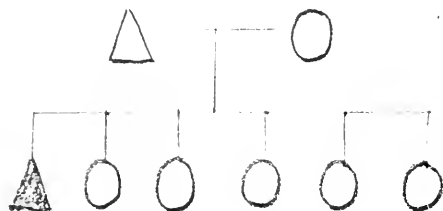
Lydia

Among these possible relationships, the father - daughter seems to have exerted the most influence in the lives of three of these woman. Only in one case is the mother - daughter relationship predominant. Lucretia Mott is the sole member of this group whose mother served as an ideal role model.

Residing in Nantucket, Lucretia was raised amid a stereotyped expanded feminine role. Due to the nature of the island economy (whaling) Nantucket women were forced to assume the responsibilities of family maintenance, education and often business management in the absence of their husbands.¹¹³ Mrs. Coffin was no exception. In her husbands absence, she opened a shop of goods in their home, and engaged in other mercantile activities. Lucretia wrote of her childhood:

"I can remember how our mothers were employed while our fathers were at sea. The mothers with their children around - it was not customary to have nurses then - kept small groceries and sold provisions that they might make something in the absence of their husbands. At that time, it required some money and some courage to get to Boston. They were obliged to go to that city, make their trades, exchange their oils and candles for dry goods, and all the varieties of country store, set their own price, keep their own accounts, and with all this have very little help in the family to which they must discharge their duties." ¹¹⁴

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION: ELIZABETH CADY STANTON (1850 - 1902)



PARENTS: Daniel Cady - Margaret Livingston Cady

CHILDREN:

Eleazer

Tryphena

sister

Elizabeth

Margaret

Kate

The duties and life-style which the economic basis of the island forced upon its women combined with the precepts of Quakerism to create a peculiar breed of woman. Independent, level headed and intellectually acute, they presented role models very different from those confronting the average 19th century girl.

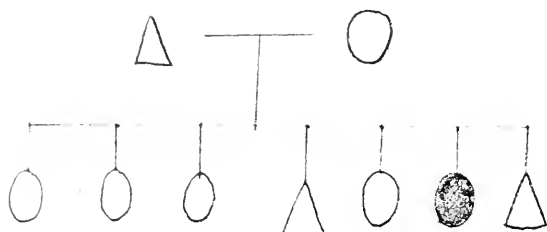
Mrs. Stone, Mrs. Cady and Mrs. Anthony all conform to the normative expectations of sexual status and role behavior of that day. By Lucy Stone's own admission, her mother, that member of her sex most responsible for her socialization, was content to be subject to her father.¹¹⁵ Similarly, Mrs. Cady did not offer an alternative role model. Elizabeth remembers her mother as

"...a tall queenly looking woman,...
courageous, selfreliant and at her
ease under all circumstances and in
all places." and "interested in her
father's political campaigns." 116

Her contribution to Elizabeths' childhood is briefly cited as an emphasis upon economy of effort. Upon the marriage of her oldest daughter, Tryphena, she retired from active management of the household. Mrs. Cady passed on this task along with her authority to Tryphena and her husband. It is doubtful that she presented a very pervasive role model to her younger daughter, Elizabeth.

If internalization of role patterns was a conscious process,

FAMILY OF ORIENTATION: SUSAN BROWNELL ANTHONY (1820 - 1906)



PARENTS: Daniel Anthony - Lucy Reid Anthony

CHILDREN:

Guelma
Susan
Hannah
Daniel
Mary
Eliza
Jacob

measured by the recognized impact of the role model upon the initiate, all three mothers, would rate a zero. None of these women is given significant mention in the reminiscence of their daughters. Even Mrs. Anthony, whom we assume would have presented a relatively egalitarian role model to her daughter due to the Quaker sentiments of her husband, disappoints us. Far from exerting an active force within the family, Mrs. Anthony was described by Katherine Anthony, a niece and biographer of Susan as, "a silent woman".¹¹⁷ This reticent figure was regarded as a drudge to a ceaseless round of domestic tasks, "of which she seemed the embodiment but not the originator."¹¹⁸ This may well be due to the fact that:

"The production of every item of food, clothing, and warmth for a growing family, as well as the production of the family itself, depended upon the woman at the center."¹¹⁹

The influence she exerted upon her children was primarily that of a teacher of domestic tasks. Little affectional and intellectual communication appeared to pass from mother to child in Susans youth. It is said that:

"Lucy Anthony gave up singing to her children because her husbands' religion disapproved of singing; then she also gave up talking to them, which was a far greater loss."¹²⁰

Viewed in the light of the experiences of these four

woman, it would appear that male family members provided a positive role model while mothers provided a neutral or negative one. Except for the case of Lucretia Mott, the roots of sex role rebellion may be found not in patterning on a deviant female model in childhood, but rebellion against that model and internalization of a male-oriented sex role pattern. In the biographies and autobiographies of Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the interaction between father and daughter is regarded as the most formative. Although this interaction was not always of a positive nature, the acquisition of traditional male aspirations is a feature of the childhood of each of these women.

An example of positive father - daughter interaction may be seen in the life of Susan B. Anthony. Alma Lutz, a biographer of Susan, believed quite strongly in the influence of her Quaker heritage and the individualism of her father on the ideals which she internalized and the course which she followed in later life. In a very real sense, Daniel Anthony was the source of Susan's Quaker heritage. (Although her mother attended meetings, Lucy Anthony was not herself a Quaker.) Daniel transmitted a set of Quaker ethics to his daughters which included a firm belief in sexual equality. Men and women were regarded as partners in church and at home with equal access

to church positions. A belief in the necessity of full education for both sexes accompanied this basic tenent. Respect for Quaker discipline and austerity was a third value instilled in Susan B. Anthony. Finally, a vigorous work ethic which incorporated a duty of aid to the unfortunates¹²¹ became a part of Susan's Quaker value orientation.

On a personal level, Daniel Anthony established a pattern of behavior which superceded many of the more restrictive Quaker values. Although a devout friend, he was a free-thinker. He trusted to the individualism of his inner light to such a degree that he often alienated himself even from his liberal Hick_{site} constituency.¹²² Daniel Anthony's tendency towards an inner-directed value orientation was evinced in many incidents throughout his life.

In his youth, Daniel consciously violated the endogamous prerequisites of the Quaker meeting when he married Lucy Reid, a Baptist. In so doing, he risked being read out of the Meeting.¹²³ Later in life, when residing in Hardscrabble, New York, he allowed the village youth to hold their dancing school in the ballroom of his inn. For this flagrant abuse of Quaker values, which denied dancing, he was read out of the Friends Meeting.¹²⁴

Daniel Anthony consistently maintained this tradition of

independent thought:

"Even when its leading differed from
the considered judgement of his
fellow Quakers." ¹²⁵

Such personal liberalism carried over into political and social spheres. Conscious of the evils of slavery, he judiciously attempted to purchase cotton from non-slave holders. Pacifistic in orientation, he also voluntarily suspended his franchise, refusing to vote for a government that advocated war.¹²⁶ Socially, Mr. Anthony enacted the role of philanthropist and social reformer. He started an evening school for his mill workers and attempted to organize a temperance society among these same workers.¹²⁷

Throughout her childhood, Susan B. Anthony was exposed to a life-style which stressed individualism, liberalism and philanthropy as it's major values. These values were transmitted through her father. By her internalization of these values and their associated behavior, Susan was utilizing her father as a role model. Page Smith alludes to the strength of father - daughter relationships among 19th century female reformers in his book, Daughters of the Promised Land. Here in he asserts that the father - daughter relationship remained more vital than its mother - daughter counterpart throughout the 19th century. It is to the alliance of father and daughter

that Mr. Smith attributes the intelligence and ambition of leading feminine figures in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although Susan conforms to Smith's generalization of the supportive and affectional bond between father and daughter which manifested itself in positive role modeling, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton do not. For both Lucy and Elizabeth, paternal interactions were patriarchal in nature without being supportive. Both Mr. Stone and Judge Cady acted as instrumental leaders within the family structure.¹²⁸ Task oriented, unemotional and decisive, they both inspired fear, rather than affection in their daughters.¹²⁹ Elizabeth characterizes the parent-child relationship in the Cady household as normative, but one of fear more than love,

"..our parents were kind, indulgent and considerate as the Puritan ideas of those days permitted, but fear rather than love of God and parents alike predominated." ¹³⁰

Such a relationship was also characterized in the interaction between Lucy Stone and her father. Mr. Stone is seen as a demanding task master, strictly enforcing a work ethic which held that those with superior ability were required to produce more.¹³¹ He is also seen as the enforcer of a strict, patriarchy in which authority, education and opportunity flowed from father to sons.

Both Mr. Stone and Judge Cady encouraged the internalization

of traditional female roles. They did not consciously propose a deviant pattern of female behavior based upon a male model as did Mr. Anthony. However, Lucy and Elizabeth did attempt to win the commendation of their fathers by exhibition of behavior associated with the male sex role. This behavior was acquired through association with other males, notably, their brothers. Elizabeth's utilization of her brother as a role model is expressed quite clearly in her autobiography, Eighty Years and More. When Elizabeth was eleven years of age, her only brother, recently graduated from Union College, died. The excessive grief of her father for his only son moved her to pity. In the midst of Elizabeth's attempt to comfort her father, he is quoted as exclaiming: "...if only you were a boy"¹³² This hardened in her the resolution to occupy her brother's place in his heart. To do so, Elizabeth attempted to fill the role of her brother by imitating him academically, through achievement in male oriented education and physically, through courage and mastery of riding.¹³³ However, irregardless of her achievements within the male role set, Elizabeth could not attain the status of a boy in her father's eyes. It was at this time that:

"..she realized that a girl weighed less in the scale of being than a boy." ¹³⁴

For Lucy Stone, acquisition of a behavior pattern was

a reactionary, as well as an imitative process. Much of Lucy's early childhood was spent in interaction with Luthor, her closest male sibling.¹³⁵ This interaction was predominantly competitive in nature. A natural outgrowth of such competition was internalization of patterns of male behavior. Although Lucy was able to successfully imitate aspects of male role, she was denied access to commensurate status. Thus, in spite of the fact that she could learn more rapidly than Luthor and run faster, he still received precedence over her by virtue of his sex.¹³⁶ Lucy reacted against this inequity as she had against the religiously imposed doctrine of female subservience.¹³⁷ Her reaction against the unequal distribution of privilege according to sex combined with utilization of male role models, moved her farther from the traditional female role and closer to male patterns of behavior and aspirations.

Lucretia Mott represents the sole individual amid this group for whom the paternal model was less influential than the maternal model. This difference may be attributed to unique economic and cultural circumstances. Not only did her Quaker heritage promote feminine equality, but the occupation of her father necessitated a matrifocal family structure in early life. The necessity of such a family pattern is well illustrated by an incident from Lucretia's childhood. For a

period of two years, Thomas Coffin was lost and believed dead on a whaling voyage. During this time, Mrs. Coffin assumed total responsibility for support and maintenance of the family. Such paternal absence, which sometimes became permanent, was a common facet of the Nantucket economy based on whaling. The matrifocal family pattern was thus enhanced by its general diffusion throughout the Nantucket community. Even when Thomas Coffin's occupation and residence changed, the tradition of matrifocality remained. It was enhanced, perhaps by the vitality of Mrs. Coffin herself who was a dominant influence in the Coffin household. Constant reference is made to "mother's ways", in Lucretias' memoranda. 138

Reference was also made by Lucretia to her younger sister Elizabeth. Often referred to as Lucretia's twin, these two children shared many adventures together.¹³⁹ Intervention of a vital sorel relationship is also noted in the autobiography Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Both Lucretia and Elizabeth appear to be influenced in the formation of behavior patterns by their younger sisters. In the company of her younger sister Margaret, Elizabeth waged an active battle against "nullity", (that state of apathetic obedience promoted by restrictive authority figures.) Under Margarets urging they performed what Elizabeth



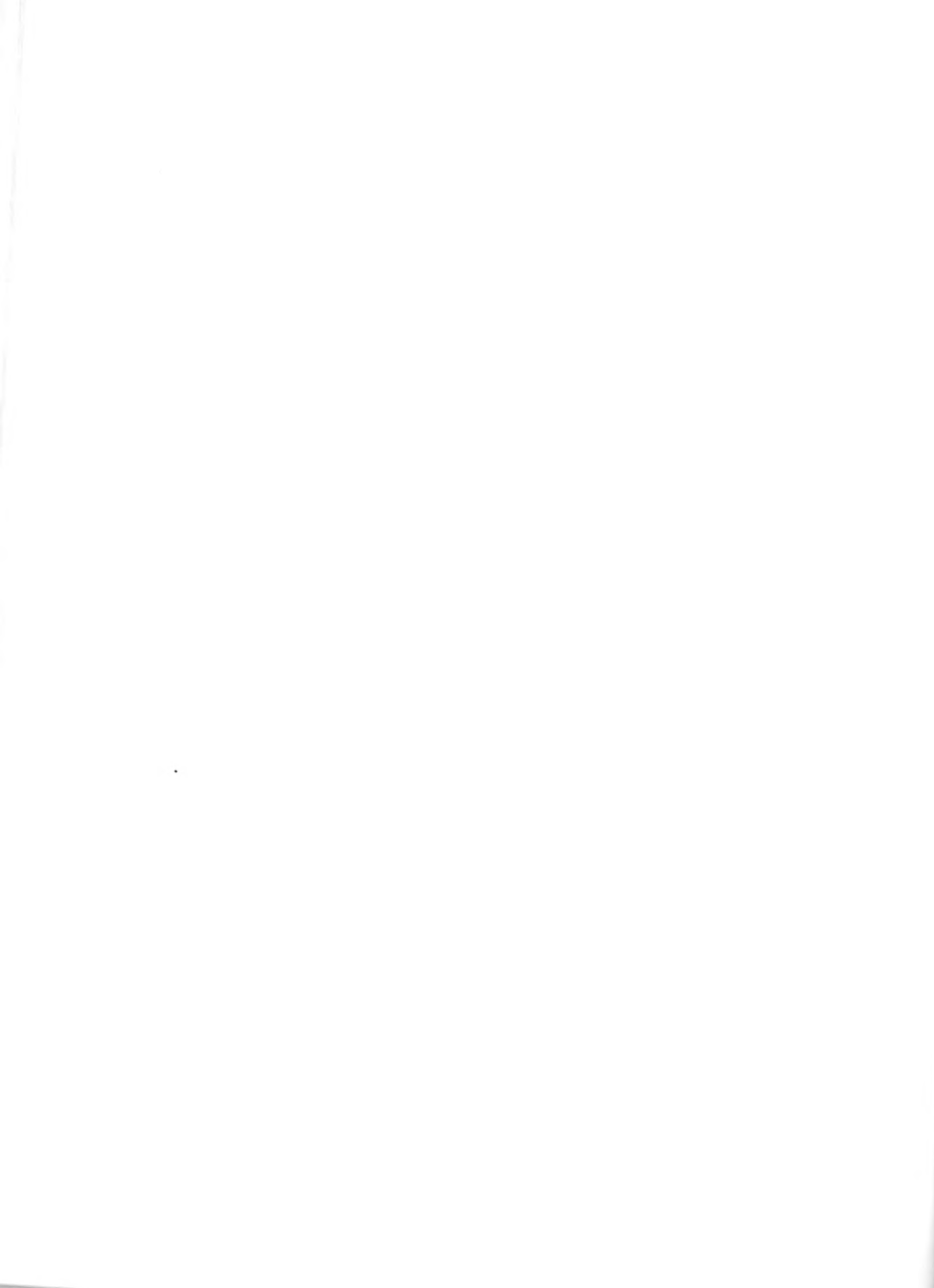
referred to as "justifiable acts of rebellion against the tyranny of those in authority."¹⁴⁰ These included: wading in forbidden streams and visiting forbidden places. Even in later years Elizabeth sanctioned her "high handed transgressions" of parental rules,

"If we had observed them, we might as well have been embalmed as mummies for all the pleasure and freedom we should have had in our childhood."¹⁴¹

Elizabeth and Margaret engaged in a mutually reinforcing rebellion against parentally prescribed roles. The quality of their relationship does not appear to be imitative in nature. We cannot determine if one served as a definite role model for the other. However, they did mutually reinforce deviant sexual patterns of behavior. Notable among these was rebellion against feminine submission.

Although Lucretia's relationship with her sister was not basically rebellious in nature, it did promote a wider scope of initiative. Like Margaret, Elizabeth was an adventurer who urged Lucretia to see things and do things she otherwise might have missed. She thus reinforced Lucretia's tendency towards activism.

The older sisters of both Lucretia and Elizabeth appear to present no deviant role models. Both married and fulfilled the



normative female role. In fact, it is probably to the example of these older sisters that Lucretia and Elizabeth owed their considerable domestic skills.

^{Sorel}
Sorel relationships in the families of Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone exerted even less of a deviant force. Two of Susan's sisters married and enacted the roles of wife and mother. A third remained a spinster school teacher and a fourth died in her youth.

Lucy Stone possessed three sisters, two older, Elizabeth and Rhoda and one younger, Sarah. Their influence is difficult to measure due to the paucity of information provided. Elizabeth was a school teacher, but died while Lucy was attending Mt. Holyoke, she had encouraged Lucy's education, giving her a novel to read at one time.¹⁴² Although younger, Sarah too aided, Lucy in her education by contributing her own meagre finances.¹⁴³ Elizabeth is noted only for her aid to Mrs. Stone throughout Lucys' youth. It would appear that neither Elizabeth nor Sarah enacted non-normative roles themselves. However, their contributions to Lucy's education maybe interpreted as a form of positive sanction. Within the Stone household, it was Lucys' brother, William Bowman who encouraged and supported Lucys' deviant role.¹⁴⁴

For Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony,

the predominant force in interfamilial interaction was male. Each of these women obtained their orientation in childhood from the male members of their family. The father - daughter and brother - sister relationships appear to be most formative. From these, Lucy, Susan and Elizabeth drew both value orientations and patterns of behavior. Directly or indirectly, all three of these women were socialized to a deviant female role in childhood. Although the product of maternal role modeling, Lucretia Mott was also the subject of deviant socialization.

Primary socialization thus began a process of deviant socialization for these women. These deviant patterns would be differentially reinforce and contradicted when contact with secondary forces of socialization was made. Extension of the natal family structure of these women presented such an opportunity for secondary contact in childhood.

The natal family structure of three of these women was extended. Lucy, Susan and Elizabeth all belonged to large households extended by either kin, friends or servants. Both Elizabeth and Susan resided in households which included individuals with occupational, rather than consanguinal affiliation. For example, the Cady household included parents, their six offspring, various nurses and negro servants and diverse young law clerks from the Judges' office.



The household of the Anthony family varied in constituency according to their geographic local. Residing in Adams, the household was extended to include the young female mill-workers of Mr. Anthony's factory.¹⁴⁵ The Anthony's Hardscrabble household included various itinerate travelers who stopped to lodge at the Inn in which they resided.¹⁴⁶

Lucy Stone shared with Elizabeth and Susan membership in an extended household, but one of a different nature. The Stone household was extended both consanguinally and intermittently by affiliation. A maiden aunt resided with the Stone family in addition to various inebriated contemporaries of Mr. Stone, on a periodic basis.

Thus, at one time or another, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan all resided in household extended either functionally, consanguinally or by affiliation. Such extensions multiplied the existing relationships and acted as an intervening variable, introducing new forces into the lives of these women. These new forces proved to promote turning points in the lives of two of these women, Elizabeth and Lucy.

Both Elizabeth and Lucy experienced a sudden awakening in childhood which made visible to them the unjust constraints of their status and role as women. When Elizabeth was asked where she learned to feel the wrongs of her sex, she replied,

in the law office's of her father, listening to his clients.¹⁴⁷

"The tears and complaints of the women who came to my father for legal advice touched my heart and early drew my attention to the injustice, and cruelty of the laws." 148

This real experience, combined with her readings on the legal position of women and discourses with her father's students acquainted her with the constraints of her sexual status and role. It was the functional extension of the Cady household which brought many of these forces to bear on Elizabeth.

Similarly, it was the extension of the Stone household to include various alcoholic ex-school mates of her father which awakened Lucy to the inferior position of women. She experienced a great sense of frustration at the imposition of these unwanted visitors upon her mother and the family. In the words of her daughter and biographer:

"The overmastering purpose of her life took possession of her in childhood. She very early became indignant at the way in which she saw her mother and other women treated by their husbands and by the laws, and she silently made-up her mind that those laws must be changed." 149

I was this childhood horror at the position of women which drove Lucy to a compulsive desire for education.

It is widely agreed by the biographers of Elizabeth and Lucy that these childhood incidents were manifest turning

points in their lives. Susan B. Anthony also experienced such a turning point due to familial extension, but it was believed to be latent in its implications. While still residing in Adams, Massachusetts, Susan confronted the confusing dualism of sexual standards of employment. This occurred within her father's mill where the most able of his employees was denied a supervisory position due to her sex.¹⁵⁰ Such inequity puzzled Susan throughout her childhood but its implications for wider society were not made clear to her due to the egalitarian Quaker principles practiced within her immediate household.¹⁵¹ One of the foremost of these principles was that of sexual equality.

"...with this valuation of women accepted as a matter of course in her church and family circle, Susan took it for granted that it existed everywhere."¹⁵²

Although functionally extended, it would appear that the Anthony family lived a more socially isolated existence within a self sufficient Quaker community. The same might be said of Lucretia Mott. She remains the only individual of this group whose family of orientation was consistently nuclear and remained so until her marriage. A Quaker, like Susan, Lucretia had little opportunity to experience sexual inequity within the precincts of her home. Residence in the primarily Quaker community of Nantucket enlarged her isolation. Lacking

familial extension of any sort, it was left for the realities of feminine inequity to impinge upon Lucretia upon exposure to wider society. Boston and a year spent in public school there represented exposure to diverse social forces. Realization of the unequal educational opportunities provided boys and girls was one of her earliest recollections of sexual inequity. In fact, the educational experiences of each of these women represents a major medium of contact with secondary forces of socialization.

Restraint of educational opportunities was one of the manifestations of unequal female status and role which impinged upon all women in the 19th century. As such, this educational restraint was a part of Americas' heritage. Living in the last part of the 18th century (in Boston) Abigail Adams was given to write:

"Female education in the best families, went no further than writing and arithmetic: in some few and rare instances, music and dancing." 153

This does not appear to be much of an improvement over the 17th century. Speaking of Virginia, Spruille notes:

"Although a few daughters of the favored classes were educated abroad and others taught in private or neighborhood schools.a large majority of seventeenth century women in Virginia were totally illiterate and those who had any schooling were generally taught only the most elementary subjects." 154

In addition to noting the dearth of education among even the wealthy, Mrs. Adams states that: "it was fashionable to ridicule female learning." Such ridicule was a form of negative sanction practiced by the society of the day. It promoted adherence to the normative educational status of women and reinforced the ideal : that of acquaintance, but not insight, this ideal was still prevalent in the mid 19th century. According to such an ideal:

"A lady should appear to think well of books, rather than to speak well of them...she should, by habit, form her mind to the noble, and pathetic, and she should have acquaintance with the fine arts, because they enrich and beautify the imagination; but she should carefully keep them out of view in the shape of learning and let them run through the easy vein of unpremeditated thought. For this reason she should seldom use and not always appear to understand the terms of art. The gentleman will occasionally explain them to her." 155

The impingement of such a heritage and such an ideal is noted in the lives of two of these four women. The exception to this tradition and ideal were Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony.

Immersion in a Quaker culture which emphasized the intrinsic importance of equal education excepted Lucretia and Susan from the immediate impact of such a value orientation. 156

True to his Quaker value system, Mr. Mott was concerned with providing a stable Quaker education for all of his children. Cognizant of Lucretias' superior academic ability, he wished to allow her to capitalize on it. Until the age of 12, Lucretia was educated at a Quaker school in Nantucket.¹⁵⁷ After attending free school in Boston for one year, she was enrolled in Nine Partners, a Friends School in New York.¹⁵⁸

During her term in Boston's public schools, Lucretia encountered the inequity of the sex-based public educational system. Here in, girls were schooled for a shorter time and less intensively than their male counterparts.¹⁵⁹ Lucretia's experience at Nine Partners reinforced this realization. Although co-educational in principle, classes were sexually segregated.¹⁶⁰ The curricula was basically the same for both sections as was the tuition. However, upon assuming the position of teacher, women were paid less for their services than were men.¹⁶¹ Lucretia encountered this inconsistency personally. As a tribute to her superior scholasticism, Lucretia was offered an unsalaried teaching assistantship in 1808.¹⁶² She held this until her graduation in 1810 at the age of 17.¹⁶³ Although subject to an extended education in the Quaker tradition, Lucretia still encountered many of the educational prejudices of her time.

In the same fashion as Thomas Coffin, Daniel Anthony made more than adequate provisions for his children's education as long as his finances permitted. Unsatisfied with the quality of public education in Battenville, New York, Mr. Anthony commissioned several liberal young teachers from a nearby Friend's Seminary and set-up a neighborhood school.¹⁶⁴

Mr. Anthony regarded it a Quaker's duty not only to be educated, but also to provide education for others. He encouraged Susan to teach "home school" each summer from her 15th birthday onward.¹⁶⁵

At the age of 17, Susan was enrolled in Deborah Moulson's Friends Seminary. She remained there for one year, pursuing the study of arithmetic, algebra, literature, chemistry, physiology, astronomy and bookkeeping.¹⁶⁶ The financial difficulties of her father forced her withdrawal from the role of student and acceptance of the role of teacher at the age of 18. But for the waning fortunes of her father, it is conceivable that Susan would have continued her education. Unobstructed in breadth or length of education, Susan confronted her only sex-based conflict when she assumed the role of teacher. Unequal salary posed the crux of this inequity.

Both Lucretia and Susan were the fortunate recipients of relatively liberal educations due to their Quaker heritage.

Elizabeth and Lucy acquired their education by a different route. Like Susan, Elizabeth experienced a liberal education, but one which stemmed from a different value system

Until the age of sixteen, Elizabeth attended co-educational classes at the Johnstown Academy. Here she competed with and often achieved over her male counterparts in mathematics and languages.¹⁶⁷ Educational segregation based on sex came with graduation and the elimination of college as a viable alternative for a female. Elizabeths parents had decided that she would attend Willard Female Seminary in Troy. This symbolized the end of her liberal institutional education. It also illustrates the impingement of the prevailing value system of the time which held that women did not need advanced education. They required only the refinement of artistic sensibilities such as a female academy could offer. Looking back on her years at Willard, Elizabeth noted:

"My own experience proves to me that it is a grave mistake to send boys and girls to separate institutions of learning, especially at the most impressionable age. The stimulus of sex promotes alike a healthy condition of the intellectual and moral faculties and gives to both a development they never can acquire alone." ¹⁶⁸

Despite the institutional constraints of her education at the age of 16, Elizabeth still encountered much intellectual stimulation within her home. The law office of her father afforded her a rare education in the legal restraints imposed upon her

sex. Similarly, her association with her father's young law clerks broadened her vistas and quickened her wit. With them, she discoursed on law, philosophy, political economy, history and poetry.¹⁶⁹ Although thwarted in her conventional educational aspirations, Elizabeth was exposed to a breadth of knowledge which neither Lucy nor Susan could duplicate.

Of the three women, Lucy Stone encountered the greatest obstacles to her education and the most forceable infringement of the existing value system. However, Lucy surmounted obstacles and infringements and is the only female of the three to hold a college degree.

For Lucy, education was to be the means of discovering her true status and role within the context of the Orthodox Congregational Church of which she was a member. Her aim was to be able to read the Bible in the original tongue and discover if it were true that women were created to be subject to man.¹⁷⁰ Such a desire for education was a transgression of the normal boundaries of feminine sex and role. Unlike Mr. Anthony, Lucy's father was not amiable to this transgression. His opposition became fiscal in nature when he refused to buy her school books and insisted that she use her brother's. Showing determination at an early age, she worked to earn enough money with which to purchase her desired books.¹⁷¹

This fiscal opposition continued until her last two years of college. For this reason, Lucy was educated almost entirely on what we would today term a work-study program. At the age of sixteen, she retained a job as a teacher at one dollar per week.¹⁷² Intermittently teaching and studying, she attended: Quaboag Seminary, Willberham Academy, and Mt. Holyoke. Finally, at the age of 25, after working for nine years, Lucy entered Oberlin, the only co-education college in the United States and became the first female college graduate. During her first two years, she earned her keep by both, teaching a school for fugitive slaves and doing domestic work. It was not until her last years that Mr. Stone agreed to pay for her board and postage in recognition of her hard work and firm desire for education.

Throughout her career at Oberlin, Lucy strove to be educated in the same manner as her male counterparts, in spite of pre-existing conventions. She defied tradition by forming a secret female debating society and lobbied among the faculty to be allowed to read her own paper at commencement.¹⁷³ This was an unprecedented move, as according to religious custom, women were not allowed to speak on the same platform as men. Oberlin illustrated the strict delineations of sexual status and role which were present even at one of the bastions of institutional liberal thought in the 19th century.

Throughout her education, Lucy waged a continual battle to claim, for women, academic rights and priveledges equal to those of their male counterparts.¹⁷⁴ In her desire for a sound education, Lucy confronted the sexual prejudices of her time on a primary level within the institution of her family and on a secondary level, within the educational institutions themselves. Unlike Susan, neither her family nor her broader social milieu functioned to aid Lucy in her quest for equal education. Unlike Elizabeth, she did not accept the judgement of her parents. It was what Lucy did, rather than what she was encouraged to do that determined the course of her education as well as her adult life. Of the four women, Lucy was the conscious rebel in her struggle for educational equal rights. Early in her life, she recognized the correlation between equal education and equal status. In June of 1840, she wrote to her brother:

"Only let females be educated in the same manner and with the same advantages that males have, and, as everything in nature seeks its own level, I would risk that we would find out our appropriate sphere." 175

This sentiment was later incorporated into the platform of the early Woman's Rights Movement echoed in the sentiment of both Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Examining the background of these four women, we find a

degree of education not common to the majority of women of the time. We also find a formal commitment to the principle of continuous and equal education which ran counter to the social sentiment of the time. Thus, within the realm of education Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan were rebels with varying degrees of consciousness. Lucy was totally conscious of her non-normative state and participated actively in its continuance. Elizabeth was conscious of her aspirations, yet did not have the total commitment of Lucy, Lucretia accrued many of the benefits of Quaker educational liberalism with only a slight impingement of larger social values. Susan, although emersed within a non-normative educational, state, only recognized her "deviance" when confronted with non-Quaker society. Her's was the realization of ex post facto rebellion. Considered as a group, Lucretia, Lucy, Susan and Elizabeth managed to supercede many of the educational restraints imposed upon women in the 19th century by varying degrees of effort. All internalized a degree of education as well as a positive orientation towards it which deviated from the normative educational status and orientation of 19th century female. In this process, only Lucretia and Susan were reinforced.

The first generation of the Woman Movement in the persons of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan

B. Anthony do not represent a homogeneous group. Their childhood experiences differed as did their educational experiences. No common factor may be given as a reason for the rebellion of these four women. If anything, an examination of these critical factors evinces a dicotomy.

Of this group, Lucretia Mott,† Susan B. Anthony underwent socialization in a deviant subculture. It was not necessary for them to undergo a process of rebellion from the ideal female image in childhood. This was due to the fact that that image did not impinge upon them with the same strength that it did upon Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Rebellion was evident in the case of Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The structure of their childhood environment and experiences brought the force of the ideal of femininity fully to bear upon them. However, intervening social forces caused them to rebel. A desire for equity as well as for an enlarged role was evident even in childhood.

Because of the differences displayed by these four women in their primary socialization, I cannot relate their deviance from the approved female status/role to any common set of factors. Family structure differed relative to number, sex and position of siblings as well as extension of household. The quality of intra and extra-familial relationships also

varied. All of these women did not exhibit the same quality of paternal and maternal interaction. Nor did all of these women experience strong sorel relationships. Consistency in competitive or imitative fraternal interaction was also lacking. Extra familial interaction, in terms of household extension and educational experience, also varied.

In addition to differentiation in the structure of interaction, divergence in the degree of social mobility was also evident. Variance in the ascribed economic status of these four women was also a consistent factor of their childhood. Lastly, religious difference divided these four women into two distinct groups.

Observation of all of these dissimilarities would lead one to the assumption that there existed no diffuse set of cultural facts, evident in childhood, which prompted the internalization of a deviant concept of status and role by these four representatives of the first generation of the Woman Movement. The sole factor common to all four women is geographic locality. Throughout the majority of their childhood, Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan B. were residents of the Northeastern United States. We must therefore conclude that individual life histories (up to the end of childhood) yield no common denominator of deviance. The

Woman Movement did not find its roots in a consistent aspect of childhood. Did a consistent factor then, appear after childhood, perhaps within the major social institution superseding it: Marriage?

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of these early reformers was their philosophy of marriage and the extent to which they were able to implement their ideals. Each of these women rejected the normative definition of marriage (at least initially) and attempted to live either in congruence with a NEW definition or without the institution at all. Both acts were revolutionary. Social pressures towards the institution were great. Even Susan B. Anthony was heard to say:

" I declare to you that I distrust the powers of any woman, even of myself, to withstand the mighty matrimonial maelstrom." 176

Economic pressures were even greater as jobs for women were scarce and pay scales unequal.

In the final analysis, it was neither social nor economic pressures which directly forced Lucretia, Lucy and Elizabeth to marry. The introduction of romantic love appears to have been the deciding factor. Combined with this idealism was the ideological symmetry which existed in each conjugal relationship. Each of these women fell in love with men who shared their liberal reformist tendencies. A process of assortative

mating thus occurred under the cover of romantic love.

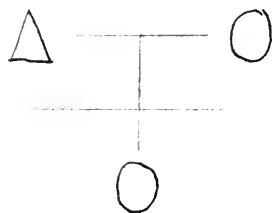
However, in spite of grand ideologies, once marriage was contracted, the functional prerequisites of domesticity and maternity often hindered the implementation of the most revolutionary philosophies. It was the complaint of committed spinsters such as Susan B., that the majority of women,

"...got married, acquired households, bore and reared children, had not time enough left in the day for effective indignation against their status." 177

Only the most energetic of women were able to combine a commitment to the cause of Woman's Rights with the commitment of marriage and family. The dicotomy between the marital ideal and the reality of married life is well illustrated in the lives of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

For Lucy Stone, as for many members of the Woman Movement, marriage was a philosophical decision as well as a practical one. At an early age, Lucy espoused a strong determination not to marry. This orientation had two sources. The first was childhood horror at the position of women within an agricultural society. Personal experience hardened her determination to devote her life to education and remediation of the rights of women.¹⁷⁸ The second source of Lucy's vow of celibacy was consideration of the laws which placed

FAMILY OF PROCREATION: LUCY STONE BLACKWELL



PARENTS: Henry H. Blackwell - Lucy Stone Blackwell

CHILDREN:

Alice

women in subjugation to men. Lucy could not, in conscience, subscribe to the status of married women sanctioned by law.¹⁷⁹ Thus, for many years Lucy remained single and worked for the cause of women alone.

Despite her early determination of revolutionary celibacy, Lucy Stone did marry at the age of 37. Her's was a homogenous union based on true love. Unlike most of her sister reformers, Lucy was able to accomodate marriage, her philosophy and her career in the person of Henry Blackwell.

"He was a man of great ability and much personal charm, an eloquent speaker, a good writer, a fine singer, and an active and capable man of business." 180

As a vigorous abolitionist, possessing admirable skills of execution and good business skills as well as a family of liberal sentiment and accomplished sisters, Henry Blackwell presented a functional alternative to celibacy.

Sharing a mutuality of interests (abolition and Woman's Rights), Lucy and Henry also shared an uncommon marital status: that of joint conjugal roles. Considering the legal and social conventions of the time, such a union was difficult to affect. Legal restraints placed women in a strictly subservient position in relation to their husbands. They had no rights of property, no ability to sue or be sued and no rights over their children. Not only did Henry actively suspend many of

the unequal aspects of 19th century femine status and role in his own marriage, but he devoted much of his life to Lucy's efforts to secure similar priveledges for other women. Upon their marriage in May of 1855, Henry published a Protest in which he renounced all non-mutual, male-directed marital privileges.¹⁸¹ Similarly, he supported Lucy in retention of her maiden name, a legally valid procedure. Even before their marriage, in a speech before the Woman's Rights Convention of 1853, he fought for his rights to work for the cause of women. He believed that: "The interests of the sexes are in inseparably connected, and in the elevation of one lies the salvation of the other." 182

In spite of the initially non-normative character of the Stone-Blackwell union the realities of married life caused some dilution of Lucy's pure doctrine of independence. Although marriage itself did not impede her work, it did influence the course her policies would take. Association with Henry multiplied her loyalties in a very real way. Lucy was no longer a single agent, working for the Woman Movement and abolition as she pleased. Her residence, if not her mobility, was dictated by the prerequisites imposed by her husbands occupation. Association with such an ardent abolitionists as her husband brought her closer to the Anti-Slavery cause. Hence,

when the question of the 14th Amendment arose, she adopted a conciliatory pose. It is feasible that her affiliation with Henry influenced her decision in this case and thus prevented her total commitment to the woman cause.¹⁸³ For this reason, she is noted as a liberal, rather than a radical in the annals of the Woman Suffrage Movement.

Although a husband may have influenced her career, he would not have stopped it,

"Neither mobs nor matrimony had been able to 'shut up the mouth of Lucy Stone' but mother love did it for a time." ¹⁸⁴

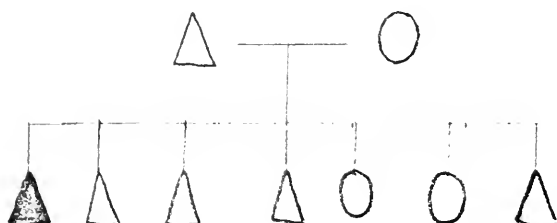
Lucy's career was not inhibited until she had a child. This inhibition was voluntary, and not enforced. True to her original fears, childbearing rechanneled her drives and energy.¹⁸⁵ With the birth of Alice Stone Blackwell in 1857, she resolved to personally care for her child in infancy and put aside lecturing for the moment. The absence of trusted individuals to care for the baby and the ineptitude of her present nurses reinforced this decision within her.¹⁸⁶ It is understandable that the conscientious Mrs. Blackwell felt compelled to fulfill her mother's role to the best of her ability. In mid 19th century America, infancy was still a period of great insecurity where infant mortality was high and incompetence in habits of nursing and childcare, widespread. Had she been able to bear more children, perhaps

Lucy would have retired into domesticity upon the infancy of each child. Due to her limited fecundity, Lucy was able to reassert her non-normative marriage pattern and incorporate marriage and family into her career. Alice became a part of her mother's battle for woman's rights, accompanying both parents on the lecture tours throughout her childhood. In her maturity, she helped her parents edit the Women's Journal. Thus, mother, father and child presented a nuclear, neolocal, mobile unit, ~~non-articulate~~ in authority, which was based on age rather than sex and oriented towards the facilitation of reformist principles based upon a common philosophy of human equality.

The Stone-Blackwell union represents a successful model of a new typed marriage in which women's integrity as an independent and equal actor was preserved. The ideal of joint conjugal roles and commitment to the causes of abolition and Women's Rights penetrated all levels of Lucy Stone Blackwell's life. She was able to incorporate career, marriage and family into a viable, functioning unit. However, her success was predicated upon the variable of limited maternity. The effects of this variable may also be seen in the life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Unlike Lucy Stone, Elizabeth did not harbor any youthful designs of celibacy. Exposed to the tranquility of her parents' marriage

FAMILY OF PROCREATION: ELIZABETH CADY STANTON



PARENTS: Henry B. Stanton - Elizabeth Cady Stanton

CHILDREN:

Daniel
Henry
Gerrit Smith
Theodore
Margaret
Harriot
Robert

as well as the successful and happy marriages of her four older sisters, she had no reason to fear matrimony in and of itself. Although she recognized and rebelled against the legal disabilities of women within marriage, there is no evidence that this effected her ambitions.¹⁸⁷ For Elizabeth Cady, as, for Lucy Stone, marriage was an experience in homogeneity, romantic love and joint conjugal roles.

Under the influence of romantic love and against the wishes of her parents she met and married Henry Stanton, a noted abolitionist while still in her early twenties. Not only did she contradict social convention by marrying an abolitionist, but she also kept her maiden name, just as Lucy Stone Blackwell had done. Although her rebellion was not as thorough as Lucy's she none-the-less refused to conform to the normative marital pattern of the time.

In its initial stages, marriage enhanced the social awareness of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Henry contributed to the mobilization of her social reformist tendencies. Through him, she became intimately acquainted with the Anti-Slavery cause. Together, they attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 in London. Here, Mrs. Stanton shared with the female delegates the humiliation of not being allowed to participate in the convention. Although London was not her



first taste of the unequal status accorded women, it was a germinal period none-the-less. Interacting with Lucretia Mott and other female delegates, she formulated the idea of a public protest against the injustices of status and role which found voice 8 years later at Seneca Falls.¹⁸⁶ Consistent exposure to the reformist environment of Boston and New York as well as the liberal associates of her husband, contributed to the development of Elizabeth's own liberal reformist ideology. In this sense, marriage acted as a catalyst for Elizabeth where it had merely acted as an adjunct for Lucy. Elizabeth's career as a reformer came after her marriage while Lucy's existed before it.

But, for Elizabeth as for Lucy, the realities of married life imposed a strain on the execution of her ideas. Residence, again, was prescribed by the occupation of her husband. Although residence did not circumscribe mobility in the strictest sense, maternity did. Elizabeth bore seven children. Such multiple and continuous maternity altered her life style and hampered her full emersion in the cause of Woman's Rights. Upon the birth of her first child, she recalled:

"The puzzling questions of theology and poverty that had occupied so much of my thoughts, now gave place to the practical one, 'what to do with a baby.'" 189

The rearing of seven children did take much time away from her role as a reformer. Elizabeth notes that, without the aid of a diligent housekeeper "much of my public work would have been quite impossible".¹⁹⁰ Unlike Lucy she was able to delegate most of the responsibilities of her role as mother to a second party. Thus, Elizabeth was able to fulfill two status/roles simultaneously and minimize much of the strain between them. Through her energy and resourcefulness, Elizabeth managed to circumvent many of the conflicts of maternity, but in this respect, she was an enigma.¹⁹¹

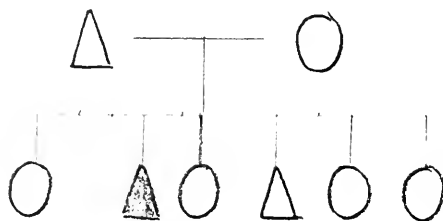
Although maternity functioned as a constraint, it too, had its catalytic aspects. Elizabeth's frustrations with her domestic existence drove her to action.

"The general discontent I felt with woman's portion as a wife, mother, housekeeper, physician and spiritual guide, the chaotic conditions into which everything fell without her constant supervision, and the wearied, anxious look of the majority of woman impressed me with a strong feeling that some active measures should be taken to remedy the wrongs of society in general and of women in particular."¹⁹²

Although she rebelled against marital-maternal constraints, she did not ultimately devalue the two institutions. She believed that it was necessary to:

"revolutionize the dogma that sex is a crime, marriage a defilement and maternity a bane."¹⁹³

FAMILY OF PROCREATION: LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT



PARENTS: James Mott - Lucretia Coffin Mott

CHILDREN:

Anna
Thomas
Maria
Thomas
Elizabeth
Martha

Elizabeth's main contribution to the cause of women's rights during her maternity was basically journalistic. She accommodated activism to maternal constraint by acting as the main strategist and speech writer for Susan B. Anthony.

Lucretia Mott represents a similar example of feminine activism within the institutional constraints of marriage.

Like Elizabeth, Lucretia harbored no fear of matrimony. This was due as much to the happy example of her parents as to the egalitarian Quaker value system under which she lived. Under that value system, a deviant pattern of marriage which stressed equality was normative. Thus, Lucretia unconsciously internalized a deviant marital ideology before her marriage.

Lucretia also shared with Lucy and Elizabeth a union based on romantic love and social and intellectual homogeneity. James and Lucretia shared the same religion, social class, educational background and liberal reformist attitudes. When Lucretia met James, he was the ranking teacher at Nine Partners and she was a student.¹⁹⁶ Their relationship underwent a gradual transformation from friendship to love. Familial approval was so thorough that Thomas Coffin offered James a position in his firm even before their marriage in 1811.

Due to financial instability initiated by the depression

of 1812, the first several years of James' and Lucretia's married life was spent striving to make ends meet. Financial necessity prompted occupational and geographical mobility which took the young Mott couple from Philadelphia to New York and back again. Finally, in 1816, James resumed work as a merchant of foreign and domestic staples in Philadelphia. Consistent prosperity stabilized the family fortunes which remained more adequate throughout their lives.

Matrimony itself did not curtail any reformist tendencies on Lucretia's part. Due to their young age at first marriage, James and Lucretia were able to grow together in their liberal ideologies. They represent an ideological unit; sharing the same convictions and the same causes. Matrimony was not a catalyst to liberalism, for Lucretia, but simply a portion of her ideological evolution. Through their association with the Anti-Slavery society and Woman's Rights Question, James and Lucretia widened a circle of mutual liberal acquaintances. Until interaction of their marital and reformist careers, James and Lucretia Mott represent an example of joint conjugal roles more pervasive than that of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell or Elizabeth Cady and Henry Stanton.

Although Lucretia superseded James in notoriety, she never attempted to dominate their relationship. Recognizing the fact

that:

"People would sooner call my husband
Mr. Lucretia Mott than me Mrs. James
Mott. 197

She continued to function as part of a matrimonial unit. Most of Lucretia's public appearances and lectures were undertaken in the company of her husband. A striking illustration of this tendency is provided by her Seneca Falls experience. Due to the illness of James, Lucretia delayed her arrival until the morning of the Convention in order to ensure his presence.¹⁹⁸

Throughout their married life, James and Lucretia attempted to function as a unit. However, James unwittingly circumscribed Lucretia's potentials in social reform and other extra-domestic fields. This circumscription was biologically predetermined.

Almost from its inception, marriage and maternity were linked for Lucretia. From 1812 to 1826 she bore six children, five of which survived. The domestic duties which maternity entailed resulted in, "much confinement," for Lucretia.¹⁹⁹ Not accustomed to a nurse, a housekeeper, she was prey to the endless rounds of sweeping, looking, washing and drying dishes that Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been partially able to avoid. In this sense, Lucretia's Nantucket training in efficient and thrifty domesticity stood her in good stead. Artful domestic

economy enabled Lucretia to incorporate reading and children's lessons with knitting.

Although contemporary commentators credit Lucretia with the ability to fulfill the spheres of reformer and wife/mother simultaneously, their optimism must be qualified. It was not until the preliminary dispersal phase of her maternity that Lucretia was able to undertake many of the reform efforts for which she was famous. Extensive extra-familial duties were by and large suspended until education and older syblings could support directive functional maintenance functions previously performed by her mother. Thus, although her Quaker ministry began in 1821, it was not until 1833 that Lucretia began to work continuously for Anti-slavery. It was not until 1840 that she embarked on a series of lecture tours which took her far from home. An excellent domestic manager, Lucretia nonetheless reinforces the assumption that maternity rather than matrimony presented the greatest impediment to feminine activism. Once able to supercede the need to care continuously for infants and small children, Lucretia was able to run a smooth household and engage in reformist activities simultaneously. In fact, her household was often extended to include a continuous flow of friends and reformers.

"...members of the family and close friends lived in an association of informal, personal relationship, while

those connected with the Motts in reform movements were only more or less restrained." 200

A normative informal dinner party for Lucretia included upwards of fifty guests. Among these were such controversial figures as : William L. Garrison, Sojourner Truth, Robert and Hattie Purvis, Charles C. Burleigh, Maria W. Chapman and Sarah and Miller McKim.

It was Lucretia's reputation for domestic excellence in combination with social services and reform that saved her from much negative criticism. She was regarded as proof among her contemporaries that it was:

"...possible for a woman to widen her sphere without deserting it, or neglecting the duties which appropriately devolved upon her at home." 201

Under the armour of successful matrimony and maternity, Lucretia. was able to quietly promote many of her radical ideologies.

Fulfillment of most of the social values ascribed to femininity made Lucretia appear less of a threat to society than total rebels such as Susan B. Anthony.

Like Lucy Stone Blackwell and Elizabeth Cady Stanton Susan lived her ideology: That of revolutionary celibacy. Like Lucy, she experienced an early impetus not to marry. This was due, not to lack of opportunity, but rather to conviction. 202 When asked why she did not marry, Susan answered:

"No, No; When I am crowned with all the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen, I may give some consideration to this social institution; but until then I must concentrate all my energies on the enfranchisement of my own sex." 203

Like Lucy Stone, she recognized the need for ceaseless labor for feminine equality, but unlike Lucy Stone, she adhered to the concept of single-minded celibacy. There was a practical basis for Susan's opposition to marriage for she regarded it as an impediment to cause of woman's rights. Alma Lutz noted that:

"National woman's rights conventions would probably have lapsed completely during the troubled years prior to the Civil War, had it not been for Susan's persistence." 204

The constraints of domesticity and childbearing prevented even the most energetic workers from consistent participation. For example, the 1857 convention was omitted because Susan's best speakers were either having babies or kept at home by family duties. Susan complained rightly that marriage interfered with the development of woman's talent and careers and dwarfed her individuality.

"There is not one woman left who may be relied on. All have first to please their husbands after which there is little time or energy to spend in any other direction." 205

Although she was vocal in her complaints, Susan did recognize the social forces pressing towards marriage.

She herself revealed:

"I have very weak moments and long to lay my weary head somewhere and nestle my full soul into that that of another in full sympathy." 206

Thus,

"Susan's fight had never been against men, but against man-made laws that held women in bondage." 207

Hers was an idealized concept of marriage. In a letter written to John Hooker in 1875, regarding the Beecher-Filton scandal she said:

"I hate the whole doctrine of 'variety' or 'promiscuity.' I am not even a believer in second marriages after one of the parties is dead, so sacred and binding do I consider the marriage relation." 208

Nevertheless, Susan fought to establish the honorability and celibacy as an alternative feminine role. Commenting on the celebration of her 50th birthday at the Women's Bureau in New York she said:

"Oh Anna, I am so glad of it all because it will teach the young girls that to be true to principle - to live an idea, though an unpopular one - that to live single - without any man's name - may be honorable." 209

Susan's life symbolized an attempt to establish woman as a separate entity in society, as more than a mere male adjunct.

Lacking maternal obligations, Susan still fulfilled familial responsibilities to her family of orientation. 1356

marked a dispersal phase in the Anthony family cycle which left Susan with a heavy feeling of responsibility for her mother. Her father was traveling in the insurance business, her two brothers resided in Kansas, and Mary was teaching and looking for a job in Rochester while Guelma was married as was Hannah.²⁰⁹ This commitment grew with the death of her father. In 1873, Guelma died and Susan sent Hannah to Kansas for her health. During the summers, she remained at home with her mother so Mary could visit. Hannah. Finally, in 1880, Mrs. Anthony died and Susan regained her total mobility. Although familial responsibilities did impinge upon Susan's life, they were far from equalling the constraints imposed on Lucy and Elizabeth. That she remained the most active and most valuable asset to the cause of women maybe directly attributed to her unmarried state. Considering the marital status of these three women, we may state that marriage and maternity were not an ultimate deterrent to activism in the cause of women. Both Lucy and Elizabeth were able to incorporate the roles of wife-mother and reformer into one role set. However, we must note that it was the women with the least fragmentation of roles who was able to contribute the most to the cause of woman. Maternity appears to be the variable for although Lucy and Elizabeth altered the normative structure of their conjugal bonds, they could not alter the biological and functional

prerequisites of their maternal roles. Enactment of a blind philosophy of marriage did not alter the realities of maternity.

Examination of the marital experiences of these women brings us closer to an assessment of common factors reinforcing their deviance. Although all of these women did not marry, those who did, married reformers. Thus marriage tended to both reinforce and in some cases promote the existing ideologies of deviant feminine status/role. Henry Blackwell and James Mott were notable reinforcers of deviant feminine status/role patterns by the supportive action they offered their wives in their abolition and later Woman's Rights work. Henry Stanton was a catalyst to Elizabeth, exposing her total cause of Anti-Slavery which planted the seeds of a movement for woman's rights within her. All of these unions exposed these women to a new or extended circle of like-minded liberals who reinforced the deviant image of their own status/role which each of these women had harbored in a vacuum. This reinforcement came primarily within the context of their efforts in social reform. It is this one factor: involvement in social reform, which comprises the common denominator for all four of these women. Evading matrimony, even Susan B. Anthony came to the cause of Woman's Rights via work in social reform. Through their involvement in this field, the deviant interpretation of

feminine status and role espoused by the first generation of the Woman Movement blossomed into a cohesive philosophy. This philosophy found voice in the Woman Movement. We must, therefore look to the careers of these women to discover the final resolution of their status/role deviancy.

Consideration of the careers of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony necessitates some division. Based upon motivation for entrance into the Woman Movement and the role played within that movement, they can be divided into two groups.

Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony may be considered together due to their common means of entrance into the Woman Movement. Lucretia and Susan were socialized into a deviant subculture which stressed both a tradition of equal sexual status and role and a tradition of social reform. By comparison, Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton appear as true rebels. Products of a normative culture system, they came to social reform and the Woman Movement on their own. They are thus qualified for a separate categorization.

Division may again be noted in terms of the role played by Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan within the movement. Lucretia and Lucy may be considered as transitional figures. Their commitment to antislavery precluded their full commitment to the cause of woman. Unlike Elizabeth and Susan, they were not able to make the full transition from a altruistic to egotistic reform.

Consideration of both of these divisions: means of entrance and role played, leads to identification of early commitment to antislavery and altruistic reform as the independent variable. The role played, would appear to be the dependent variable. The

degree of devotion to woman's rights enacted by these women in their careers is directly related to their devotion to Antislavery. Evidence to this fact is seen in the course of their careers.

Two of the early leaders of the Woman Movement, Lucretia and Susan, indicate an early experience in sexual equality. This occurred within the precincts of their Quaker sects. As Quakers, they were socialized within a deviant subculture. This subculture shielded them, to a certain degree, from the impingement of the cult of the True Woman and the Home. For both women, the forces of larger society promoting feminine inequality impinged only when they confronted public education and employment. Indignation at this inequality lay dormant. It was through their work in other areas of social reform that active awareness of the injustices of their sex registered in their minds. Thus, it was only after Susan B. became involved in the Temperance movement that she became aware of the constraints placed upon her activities. Similarly, although Lucretia had read extensively on the question of woman's rights, it was through her activities in the Antislavery Society that she became catalyzed into action.

Unlike Susan B., Lucretia did not make a complete transition to woman's rights. Although she experienced a heightened consciousness of the inequalities of her sex, she regarded woman's rights

as one in a universe of necessary social reforms. It is the consideration of many authors that Lucretia served as a transition point in the progress of woman's rights. She signaled the emergence of women from altruistic social reform to egotistic social reform. This evolution occurred through the medium of participation in the reform movements of the time. Women's participation led to a rising consciousness of their own inferior condition. Unlike Susan B., Lucretia was not able to separate her altruistic and egotistic reform impulses. Tied throughout her life to the cause of the blackman and other social reforms, Lucretia was never able to devote her full energies to the cause of women.

As one of the earliest American spokeswomen for feminine equality, the career of Lucretia Mott evinces the close connection between religious conviction and reform, and reform and woman's rights. Her involvement in the Antislavery Movement and Woman Movement is directly linked to her Quaker heritage.

Quaker philosophy stressed three basic values which Lucretia internalized: sexual equality, inner-directedness and social action. Each of these contributed to her eventual role in the Woman Movement.

Within the Quaker community, equality of alliance in the marriage contract was extended to educational equality and

occupational equality. The roles of preacher, teacher and church officer were all open to women. Lucretia fulfilled all three of these roles. At the age of fifteen, she was offered a teaching assistantship at Nine Partners School. A tribute to her scholastic ability, it offered no remuneration. Lucretia held this position only until her graduation, two years later. In 1817, Lucertia was forced to resume the role of teacher due to financial necessity. For approximately one year, she expanded her role as wife and mother by teaching at the Select School for Girls, in Philadelphia. The imminent birth of a third child forced Lucretia's return to the domestic sphere in 1818.

Although there is some dispute over the exact date, it is recognized that between the age of 25 and 28, Lucretia acted upon her Quaker prerogative and assumed the role of minister. She recalls in her memoranda:

"At twenty-five years of age, surrounded with a little family and many cares, I felt called to a more public life of devotion to duty and engaged in the ministry of our society, receiving every encouragement from those in authority." 210

Acceptance of this position entailed responsibility, knowledge and virtue. Answerable for the spiritual welfare of the Meeting, Lucretia was called upon to render advice and reform in accordance with the Book of Discipline. Familiarity with the scrip-

tures and an example of integrity were two other prerequisites to the ministry.²¹¹

Restrained only by the Letter of Discipline, the Quaker Ministry entailed much freedom of action and invested its ministers with considerable authority. Yet even within the confines of her liberal ministerial role, Lucretia found grounds for rebellion. Opposing the excessive authority of the Elders, Lucertia followed the lead of her husband James in 1827. Together, they adhered to the Hicksite faction in a religious controversy which divided the Philadelphia Quakers into two groups. Lucretia referred to her Hicksite alliance as an occasion

"...when my convictions led me to adhere to the sufficiency of the light within us, resting on truth as authority, rather than 'talking authority for truth!'"²¹²

It is evident that even as a young woman, Lucretia displayed qualities of an inner-directed individual. Lucretia enlarged upon her Quaker heritage of individualism and incorporated it into her personal theology. This theology directed the course of her actions, both sacred and profane.

For Lucretia, the kingdom of God was to be found within each individual.²¹³ The responsibility for moral choice and action thus lay within each individual. Lucretia's role as an innovative religious zealot, as well as a social reformer,

was therefore consistent with her personal theology. In spite of its liberalism, Lucretia's personal philosophy was not anarchistic in nature. For instance, in her adherence to Hicksite doctrines, Lucretia did not claim the right of indulgence in actions prohibited by the Discipline. She did not claim the right of practicing all her own convictions with no regard for established authority. Lucretia simply believed that in the absence of direct proscription of action, she had the right to think for herself.²¹⁴

Lucretia's inner-directed religious philosophy led to innovative religious practices. For example, Lucretia substituted friendly visits to unemployed weavers for attendance at afternoon worship. In so doing, Lucretia practiced her philosophy of practical religion.²¹⁵

Lucretia's inner-directed religious convictions did not inhibit her participation in organized religion..Between 1830 and 1840, she held numerous positions within the Quaker Meeting. For five years she was clerk to the Womens's Yearly Meeting and for two years, treasurer. A regular representative to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting from her Quarterly Meeting, Lucretia also served on numerous special committees.²¹⁶ Although her independence of thought had become a well known fact throughout the Quaker community by 1830, her opinions and services were



still sought by the organized Meeting.²¹⁷ This fact is a dual tribute to Lucretia's personal attributes as well as to the liberalism of her religious affiliation.

Lucretia's Quaker heritage also encouraged social activism. Quaker opposition to slavery extended back as far as 1671, when the first anti-slavery protest in America was made by Quakers.²¹⁸ Organized into a cohesive theory of opposition, this philosophy was spread by ministers and pamphlets in the 1700's. By 1776, The Friends Yearly Meeting had disowned slave-owning members. Their post-Revolutionary platform called for manumission. (as well as education for women.)²¹⁹

Prompted by their religious duty and unhindered by a circumscribed definition of feminine sphere, Quaker women were early workers for emmancipation. Lucretia Mott was no exception. As early as 1820, she supported her husbands work in the Free Produce Society although she was denied membership due to her sex.²²⁰ In 1833 sixty-two delegates met in Philadelphia to form a National Anti-Slavery body. Lucretia Mott attended on the second day when women were invited as spectators. At that time:

"..the gathering felt no compunction about its exclusion of women, and women bowed to the dictates of the day." ²²¹

However, recognition of the value of feminine effort in the

cause of abolition led to the formation of the Philadelphia Female Antislavery Society. Led by Lucretia Mott, it constituted the first woman's club with a political objective.²²² Its platform was basically supportive of the aims of the National Society and consisted of contributions, endorsement of the National's programs, petitions for abolition and promotion of tracts and pamphlets. Operating independently, it engaged in social work to promote the general moral and physical welfare of the blacks and supported a boycott of slave products.

Although the Female Society was divorced from any recognition of the rights of women, it nonetheless provided a practical political education for its members. Lucretia Mott herself confessed:

"that there was not, at that time, a conception of the rights of women. Indeed, women knew little their influence, or the proper exercise of their own rights. I remember that it was urged upon us immediately after that Convention to form a Female Anti-Slavery society; at that time I had no idea of the meaning of preambles and resolutions and voting. Women had never been in any assemblies of the kind." 223

As the most consistently prominent member of that organization Lucretia soon became acquainted with those procedures. Serving as the Female Society's first secretary, she acted as a member

of the Board of Managers all but one year of her life and as a chairman or member of almost every important committee.²²⁴ When the Antislavery Convention of American Women was held in New York in 1837, Lucretia displayed herself as a leader among the 100 women present.²²⁵ Thus, when the Pennsylvania Branch of the Antislavery Society opened its membership to women in its second year, Lucretia Mott was one of the first applicants.

As well as an education in practical politics, membership in the antislavery cause provided training in confronting opposition. Many riots and violent demonstrations accompanied early efforts for abolition. 1834 saw an attempted lynching of Wm. L. Garrison in Boston, the New York riots against the Tappans, the Prudence Crandall scandal in Connecticut and riots in S. Philadelphia. Perhaps the most significant civil disturbance to our purposes is the massive riot of 1838 in Philadelphia which culminated with the burning of Pennsylvania Hall and threatened the safety of James and Lucretia Mott.²²⁶ Membership in the Antislavery Movement thus schooled its members to the realities of public opposition. Lucretia was to write to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, some years later:

"I have become somewhat callous to or by the repeated stipes that have been inflicted upon me as representative of a larger demand for women...we have to gain to endure hardness



as good soldiers in all their great reformatory movements." 227

There is little doubt that she gained this wisdom through her abolition experiences.

Subjection to such persistent antagonism only served to strengthen Lucretia's dedication to the principles of non-violence. In 1838 she became a member of the Non-Resistance Society of Boston, dedicated to the repudiation of all forms of physical force as a weapon.²²⁸ Lucretia was a firm believer in the use of moral ^{persuasion} pervasium. She attributed progress in human society to the development of man's spiritual nature and the better understanding of God within. This would manifest itself in man's increased regard for his fellow man.²²⁹ In these divisions within the abolitionists, which became evident in the course of the 30's, Lucretia found Garrison to be consistent with her personal beliefs. As a Garrisonian, she considered unequivocal opposition and appeals to reason and conscience, as opposed to political weapons as the best method available to end slavery. Unequivocal opposition included the restriction of the use of New England pulpits by Southern ministers. This occasioned a clerical reaction which was both anti-Garrisonian and anti-female. This opposition was symbolized by the Pastoral letter of 1837 which attempted to sanction public



speaking by women in the cause of abolition. Differences in methodology combined with clerical opposition, ~~opposition~~ to the radical¹²² tone of the Liberator and censorship of the growing independence of the Massachusetts Branch of the Anti-slavery Society to occasion a schism in the abolitionist cause.²³⁰ The manifest cause of this schism was the admission of women into membership in the New England Society in 1838. This occasioned a similar motion at the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society in 1839. Met by the earnest opposition of many of the most vocal opponents of Negro slavery, the women present at the convention must have smiled ironically. Led by James Birney, the opposition withdrew to form a "New Organization" known as the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Their program included political action on behalf of the slaves and exclusive male membership. True to its philosophy, The National Anti-slavery Society admitted, women placing 3 on it's executive committee. Lucretia Mott was one of these.

In spite of the establishment of a bi-sexual organization to promote the abolition of slavery, public sentiment supported the Birney faction which preached a separate sphere for women. Lloyd C. M. Hare reminds us of the strength of the Cult of True Womanhood when he catagorizes the 19th century as an era in which:

"A woman's degree of refinement was gauged by the number and quality of things she did not talk about." 231

The free speech of women like Angelina Grimke and Lucretia Mott was frowned upon. It was the blatant affront to feminine rights represented by the London Convention which finally catalyzed Lucretia Mott into action. As Mr. Hare amusingly pointed out:

"It is an irony of history that the World's Anti-Slavery Convention should stand as a landmark not for the freedom of the slave, but of woman." 232

Responding to a call by the British and Foreign Antislavery Society, the American Antislavery Society sent Lucretia Mott as one of its five delegates to the World Convention of 1840. Upon arrival, the feminine delegates were informed that their credentials were not to be honored. The London Committee reasoned that their participation would cause "strife and dissension injurious to the cause of emancipation." 233 The decision was appealed, but to no avail. Relegated "behind the bar", the silent American observers included: Lucretia Mott, Sarah Pugh, Abby Kimber, Anne Phillips, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, William Lloyd Garrison, Nathaniel P. Rogers and Charles Lemon Remond. As Otelia Cromwell stated:

"Consistency, reason, justice and maturity of aspect took a holiday, while pleas of 'English custom and principle,' 'the will of God,' 'the proper sphere of women,' 'the forcing of an abstract question,' and 'the

numerical weakness of the defenders of the motion' were offered to support a prejudiced stand!" 234

As with all turning points, the London Convention manifested an integral change in the prevailing climate. Where female exclusion would have been accepted in 1833, by 1840 "the woman question was a debatable issue" and the subject of increased interest.²³⁵ The London Convention, ushered the Woman Question into view. It would not drop from sight until the right of suffrage was attained in 1920.

Although a silent observer of the indignities of the convention, Lucretia Mott did encourage protest among the British women she encountered. Her pleas went largely unanswered due both to the ennui of her audience and the prejudice she encountered due to her Hicksite predilection.²³⁶ More important than her exhortations to action, was the silent pact made between Lucretia and youthful Elizabeth Cady Stanton to hold a convention for the promotion of the cause of feminine equality. Reinforced by their experience, both recognized sexual injustice, commensurate with racial injustice and the necessity of remedial action. Reflecting upon the convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton questioned:

"Had Fredrick Douglass and Robert Purvis been refused their seats in a convention of reformers under similar circumstances ...had they listened one entire day to debate on their peculiar fitness for

plantation life, and unfitness for the
forum and public assemblies." ²³⁷

The older woman acting as a catalyst on the younger woman and the convention as a catalyst on both, the London Convention truly marked the beginning of the Woman Movement. This fact reinforces Lloyd Hare's contention that:

"The soil out of which sprang the organized Woman's Movement (like a weed, most persons thought) was the great humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century, the abolition cause - more especially the plot of churchmen to silence the participation of women in that reform." ²³⁸

Returning home in 1840, Lucretia inaugurated an extensive speaking career which carried her throughout the northeast and west and into southern Canada. Although a plea for Women's Rights was incorporated in many of her speeches, ²³⁹ pursuit of the rights of women on a separate platform did not occur until 1848.

The chance physical proximity of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton led to a reunion which resulted in the fulfillment of their London Pact. On July 14, 1848, a call was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann McClintock to:

"A Convention to discuss the social, civil, ²⁴⁰
and religious condition and rights of woman."

Armed with a Declaration of Rights patterned on the Declaration of Independence and a series of Resolutions they confronted a small audience at the Wesleyan Chapel on July 19th and 20th.

So unfamiliar were these women with speaking for their own cause that even Lucretia Mott felt unqualified to preside. ²⁴¹ Hence, James Mott led the convention while Lucretia restricted herself to the opening speech and the closing appeal. Speaking on the necessity of feminine education and elevation, she opposed the motion of Elizabeth Cady Stanton for a suffrage resolution. Fearing the damage of ridicule to the infant cause, she nevertheless with drew her opposition in conformity to group consensus. A gathering of signatures to the Declaration and plans for a Rochester Convention in quick succession, culminated the Seneca Convention. A blend of timidity and radicalism, the Seneca Convention represents much of the reformism and romanticism evident in the 40's. As Hare cogently stated

"The 'fourties of the last century was an era of new hopes and a marvelous multiplication of ideas to promote human happiness." ²⁴²

It was a time when,

"A handful of intellectuals, called 'infidels' and 'traitors' made it their business to break the mental fast day of conservatism." ²⁴³

Lucretia Mott did her part to "break" this "fast". At the Rochester Convention she presented a rebuttal of two popular arguments opposing equal rights for women. She argued against the necessity of domesticity which arose from women's "delicate" constitution as well as from the Biblical dictates of St. Paul.

Lucretia argued that, although long ages of repression could have stunted the development of women's intellect, this did not connote innate inferiority. Conditions induced by injustice could not be utilized to rationalize that injustice.²⁴⁴

Just as Lucretia was opposed to imputation of feminine inferiority, so she denied her superiority. At both Seneca Falls and Rochester, she stressed woman's duties as well as her rights. Acknowledging female inferiority as a result of a "systematically imposed program of repression" she²⁴⁵ none-the-less asserted that:

"Women should train themselves to take a dignified place in the world, to be rational companions, to share the responsibilities of life." ²⁴⁶

However, she did recognize that feminine independence was often an independence granted at "suffrage" and encouraged the innate nature of her rights.²⁴⁷

Under the tutelage of Lucretia Mott, the early Women's Movement did not so much question woman's appropriate sphere. It questioned whether one class of human beings was permitted to determine for another its role in society or mode of employing the "facilities conferred by Nature's God."²⁴⁸ The principle of the early movement, as expressed by Lucretia, presiding over the 1853 Woman's Rights Convention in New York was:

"The establishment of...the coequality of woman with man and, her right to

practice those acts of life for which
she is fitted by nature." 249

To Lucretia, this equality entailed: equal opportunities in education, occupation and remuneration as well as equality before the law for married and single women alike. She was a firm believer in the philosophy of natural rights. Thus, although Lucretia did not encourage women to vote or participate in the present state of the government, she did maintain her right to the elective franchise.²⁵⁰ The mode of acquisition of these rights, she felt to be moral rather than political. To Lucretia, women's rights represented a moral battle to be fought by promotion of correct intellectual and religious principles and not political action.

"...that the political men of the country, the partisans of politics will be ready enough to take-up our movement, when by making these moral appeals, we have been instrumental in calling forth such a sentiment, that there shall be a demand for our rights from the people. Then without our appealing to the powers that be directly, the powers that be will come to us..." 251

In spite of her realization of the long range effects of the moral justice of their cause, Lucretia recognized the necessity for effort. At the Rochester Convention, she reminded Elizabeth Cady Stanton

"Thou wilt have hard work to prove the equality of women with men, facts are



so against such an assumption in the present stage of woman's development." 252

Although she attended the majority of the Women's Rights conventions after Seneca Falls and presided over many, Lucretia realized the limitations of her commitment. Due to her multiple affiliations and interests Lucretia could promote and attempt to steer the cause of women's rights, but she could not formulate, organize and direct it. Temperance, Anti-Sabbath, Non-Resistance, the National Education Association, various welfare associations and numerous other reform efforts all attracted her attention. Although she claims of woman's rights,

"In this work, too, I have engaged heart and hand, as my labours, travels and public discourses evince." 253

It is doubtful if Lucretia's interest in the woman's cause ever supplanted her interest in Antislavery.²⁵⁴ Even before the Seneca Falls Convention, she was noted as asking Elizabeth Cady Stanton,

"Are you going to have any reform or other meeting during the sitting of the convention?" 255

By Lucretia's own testimony, Antislavery remained her overriding avocation.

"But the millions of down-trodden slaves in our land being the greatest sufferers, the most oppressed class, I have felt bound to plead their cause, in season and out of season, to endeavor to put my soul in their stead, and aid all in my power, in every right effort for their immediate emancipation." 256

Lucretia was never able to supercede her altruistic affiliations for the egotistic cause of woman's rights. While all sources agree that Lucretia was undoubtedly the foremost figure in the early years of the Woman Movement, her's was a prominence born of courtship.²⁵⁷ As a leading figure in the cause of Anti-slavery, and many other worthy reforms of the day, she represented one of America's most noted women. Due to her experience in the ministry and Antislavery Movement, Lucretia proved practically as well as reputationally valuable. Experienced in public speaking, able to think on her feet and accustomed to organizational problems, she brought the experience of numerous affiliations to the Woman Movement.²⁵⁸ Although Lucretia constituted the moving spirit of the early Movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton comprised the inspiration and Susan B., the practical organization force.

Cognizant of her limitations, Lucretia actively sought women to assume the lead in the fight for woman's rights.²⁵⁹ After 1853, the leading roles in the Woman Movement were largely vested in Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Lucretia continued to promote the cause of woman's rights, attend conventions and help determine policy, but the initiative, she willingly passed from her hands. A transitional figure, she bridged the gap from altruistic to egotistic reform without completing the step herself.

Like Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony was socialized in a deviant subculture which did not enforce the normative value system applied to most women. Her Quaker upbringing combined with the liberalism of her father reinforced in her an expanded notion of feminine status and role. Free from many of the educational and occupational constraints imposed on other women, she pursued a full time career as a teacher, beginning in 1846.²⁶⁰ Transcending the liberalism of sect and family, Susan encountered conflict between her conception of feminine equality and larger society's value orientation. This conflict was symbolized by the sex-related remunerative inequalities she experienced in the course of her teaching career. This conflict awakened in Susan a realization of woman's unequal position in larger society. Her involvement in the Temperance Movement, which began in 1845, reinforced this realization and awakened her to the need for action.

While teaching in Canajoharie, New York, Susan became a member of the Daughters of Temperance. Committed to a tradition of free speech and social reform, Susan regarded her vocal support of the cause of Temperance as natural. Her biographer, Alma Lutz noted:

"...the young Quaker, whose grandmother and aunts had always spoken in meeting when the spirit moved them, was ready to say her word for temperance, taking it for granted that it was not only woman's

right but her responsibility to speak
and work for social reform." ²⁶¹

By 1850, Susan had assumed the presidency of her local temperance chapter. At this time, she embarked upon a program to, "make women an active, important part," ²⁶² of the Temperance Movement. In pursuit of this goal, she journeyed to the convention of the Sons of Temperance, in Albany, New York. Here she hoped to assume an active role in convention proceedings. Denied even the right of speech, Susan initiated her own counter convention in Rochester. This led to the formation of the Women's State Temperance Society in 1850.

The Women's State Temperance Society was the product of Susan's first public encounter with the social constraints imposed upon her sex. Radical in approach, it advocated drunkenness as grounds for divorce, ²⁶³ and gave Susan her first taste of public censure.

The New York campaign for Prohibition in 1851 gave Susan a further education in the disabilities arising from woman's inferior status and role. It gave special significance to women's inability to affect temperance reform without the vote although temperance societies were organized, conventions held and subscriptions to the Lily (a reformist magazine) solicited, the lobbying efforts of women for prohibition were virtually ignored. Without the vote, women represented a political zero. ²⁶⁴

Through her work for temperance, Susan came to recognize a lack of legal rights as the root of feminine Temperance work provided the medium of Susan's enlightenment regarding the inequalities of her sex. It confronted her directly with the social prejudices and usages which hampered the cause of social reform. Her experience in temperance work also enabled Susan to identify a lack of legal rights as the root of feminine disabilities. Finally, emersion in the Temperance Movement brought Susan into contact with a wide variety of liberal reformers of the day. Their radical views in conjunction with her own liberating experiences contributed to Susan's social awakening and espousal of the principles of woman's rights.

In 1848, reference to woman's rights served only to amuse Susan B.. The Seneca Falls Convention held no interest for her, other than the presence of Lucretia Mott, whom she admired.²⁶⁵ It was only through the continuous enthusiasm of her family and reformist friends that Susan's amusement turned to serious consideration .

The participation of her parents and sister in the Rochester Convention of 1850 finally roused in Susan a desire to acquaint herself with the causes of antislavery and woman's rights.²⁶⁶ The subsequent year, Susan attended a number of antislavery meetings. While attending a series of lectures by Garrison,

Susan was introduced to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, their introduction resulted in Susan's participation in a meeting to discuss the founding of a people's college. Although the college never materialized, this meeting forged a bond of friendship between Susan B., Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone. The result was the conversion of Susan to the cause of woman's rights in 1852.²⁶⁷ Attending the Syracuse Convention of 1852, she committed her efforts to the cause of civil rights, property rights and the right of franchise for women.

Like Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony came to the cause of woman's rights by way of other avenues of social reform. Lacking Lucretia's general reformist tendencies and commitment to abolition, Susan became a specialist in women's rights. From 1852 onward, all of her efforts were directed either manifestly or latently towards the cause of woman's rights, especially towards the goal of suffrage. She therefore represents an elevated stage in the process of the Woman Movement as a whole. Through her realization of the inequities of women as a group, she was able to develop a "consciousness of ^{kind}land" which lent coherence to the cause. It enabled her eventually to place remediation of feminine rights above all other forms of social reform. (especially after 1865) Although she could identify herself with similarly oppressed groups, notably the black man,

her primary loyalty was to her sex. Susan B. divided altruism from egotism in the great sea of social reforms. In so doing, she created a one tract reform which concentrated upon the rights of women. However, this feat was not accomplished until 1870. The progress of woman's rights from 1848 to the end of the Civil War was linked to the cause of abolition. Many of its prominent members espoused membership in both the Anti-slavery Society and the Woman Movement. From 1852 onward, Susan incorporated an antislavery plank in her public platform.

1856 marked Susan's acceptance of an official role in the antislavery cause. As the New York agent of the American Anti-slavery Society, she gained organizational and administrative skill.²⁶⁸ In addition, Susan gained the friendship and stimulation of such radical thinkers as: William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson and Parker Pillsbury.²⁶⁹ Susan commented to Sam May in 1858,

"I can but acknowledge to myself that
Antislavery has made me richer and
braver in spirit." 270

Passage of the Dred Scott Decision in 1857 prompted Susan to lobby in Albany for a personal liberty bill to protect escaping slaves. The Harper's Ferry Raid and the subsequent death of John Brown in 1859, committed her even deeper to the cause of emmanicipation. Although sincere, her commitment was not deep

enough to obviate the cause of women as well. Against the opposition of leading abolitionists, Susan sheltered the fugitive wife and child of a noted Senator in 1801. Referring to the opposition of Garrison and Phillips, Susan retorted:

"Very many abolitionists have yet to learn the ABC's of woman's rights." 271

Susan's commitment to woman's rights preceded, paralleled and superceded her affiliation with antislavery. From 1852 on, Susan devoted the majority of her time and effort to the cause of woman.

1854 was an especially busy year for Susan. In February, she prepared for and attended the annual Woman's Rights Convention in Albany. Here, two petitions, representative of much work, were presented by Susan. The first supported the Married Women's Property Bill, with 6,000 signatures. The second supported woman suffrage with 4,000 signatures. 272

While making plans for a solitary campaign for suffrage and the Property Act in New York, Susan found time to travel to Washington to speak out against the Kansas-Nebraska Act. 273 Returning home, she continued to plan for her New York campaign.

Beginning in December, Susan canvassed fifty-four counties and sold 20,000 tracts over a six month period. 274 January of 1856 saw Susan campaigning once again throughout New York for woman's rights. Unfortunately, laughter, rather than action

met the presentation of her lengthy petition to the New York State Legislature.²⁷⁵ The victory of both the Married Women's Property Act and the Equal Rights to Children Act in Ohio underscored the conservatism of the North, yet lent a promise of hope. Hope was a useful commodity in the early years of the Woman Movement. In 1856, two eminent defenders of woman's rights withdrew their support from the organized Movement for polar reasons. Horace Greeley withdrew his literary support because he found Susan B. Anthony too radical. Gerrit Smith withdrew his financial support because he considered the members of the movement not radical enough.²⁷⁶ In spite of Gerrit Smith's disagreement, the late 50's saw a radicalization in Susan B.'s platform of woman's rights. In 1857, she wrote to Lucy Stone:

"It seems to me that we have played on the surface of things long enough. Getting the right to hold property, to vote, to wear what dresses we please, etc., are all to the good, but Social Freedom, after all, lies at the bottom of all, and unless woman gets that she must continue the slave of man in all things." ²⁷⁷

This radicalism was transferred to the annual Woman's Rights Convention of 1861. Along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan introduced the question of marriage and divorce to the convention. Both women called for support of a liberal divorce bill pending before the New York Legislature. Liberalization of the divorce

laws represented a step towards "Social Freedom."

The late 50's marks the opening of an era of pursuit of "Social Freedom" by Susan B. this pursuit entailed a total redefinition of the existing role of woman. It also necessitated a change of norms within the supportive institutions of family and church. Such a bold step promised opposition.

1853 had witnessed the first definite efforts to crush woman's rights by physical violence.²⁷⁸ Reactionism, female as well as male relegated its proponents to the status of social outcasts and freaks. Advocating reform in 1860, Susan recognized the implications of her actions as well as their necessity.

"Cautious, careful people, always casting about to preserve their reputations and social standing can not bring about a reform. Those who are really in earnest must be willing to be, anything or nothing in the world's estimation, and publicly and privately, in season and out, avow their sympathy with despised and persecuted ideas and their advocates, and bear the consequences." ²⁷⁹

It remains that both radicalism and opposition were interrupted by the war.

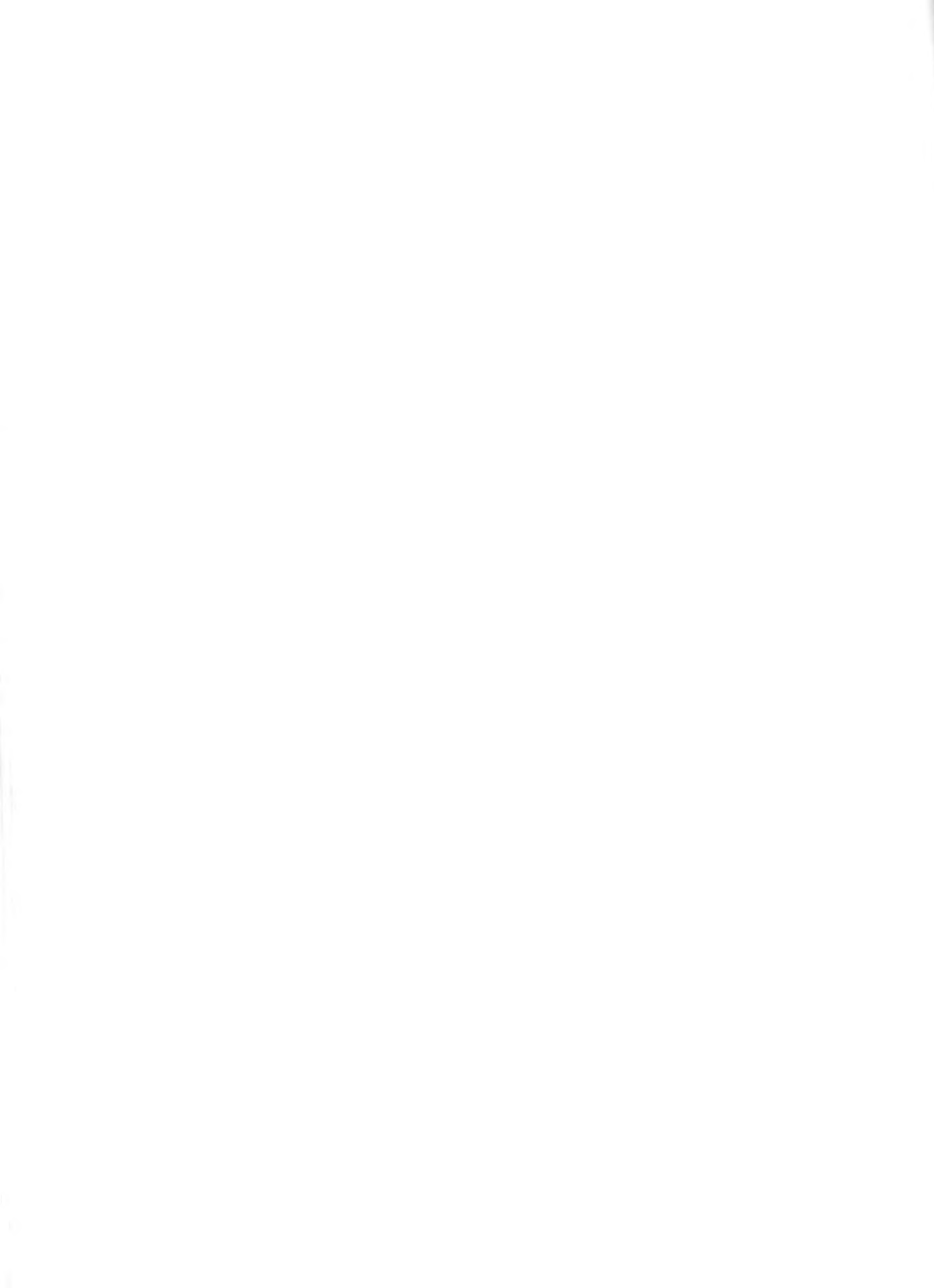
The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 was accompanied by a plea from abolitionists to suspend all extraneous activities.²⁸⁰ Pursuit of woman's rights was considered to be one of these. Women such as Susan B., Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone

were requested to transmit their energies to support of The Union War effort and the cause of the black man. In compliance with this request, The National Loyal League was founded in May of 1863. Under the Presidency of Elizabeth and Secretaryship of Susan B., it recognized the need to establish the civil and political rights of Negroes and Women to establish true peace. It thus artfully incorporated woman's rights into the war effort. The purposes of this League included:

- 1) promotion of a spirit of awareness based on thoughtful consideration which would force Northern women to come to grips with the basic issues of the war,
- 2) connection of these war issues with their own claims of freedom,
- 3) participation in molding public opinion and directing policy,
- 4) promotion of a 13th Amendment by petition.²⁸¹

By April of 1864, 400,000 signatures had been collected on a petition for a 13th Amendment. The war effort had drawn women out of the home and into a more prominent position in public life. Indirectly, the war promoted an expanded role for women. Thus, by the dissolution of the Loyal League in April of 1865, many of the League's spoken and unspoken goals had been fulfilled.

Susan B. looked to Reconstruction as an era which would



woman suffrage.²⁸⁶

With the promise of a constitutional change embodied within a 14th Amendment which would strike out the word "white", women were once again remonstrated to curtail their aspirations. As Wendell Phillip's reminded them in the short lived American Equal Rights Association of 1866, this was the "Negro's hour", and female enfranchisement would have to wait.²⁸⁷ Construed by Susan B. and Elizabeth as treason, they vowed:

"..then and there...that they would devote themselves with all their might and main to woman suffrage and to that alone." ²⁸⁸

Disaffiliation with the Negro Question marked a turning point in the course of the Woman Movement. From 1866 onward, Susan B. along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton embarked upon an independent course of action which utilized all available skills and means to promote the cause of woman suffrage. This policy brought them into conflict with less radical members of the Movement. Independence of action and association in the Kansas Campaign for suffrage of 1867 compounded by personal antagonism promoted a deepening rift between abolitionist and woman's rights interests. It also created strife within the Woman Movement itself.

Many abolitionists, incorporating a dual interest in woman's rights, could not supercede their antislavery loyalties to

sanction the importance of immediate woman suffrage. (as was demanded by Susan B.) Among the men, only Parker Pillsbury, Sam J. May, James Mott and Robert Purvis encouraged immediate woman suffrage. Lucretia Mott, Earnestine Rose and Martha C. Wright remained the sole consist feminine supporters.²⁸⁹

Adherence to abolitionist policy and the growing radicalism of the policies of Susan B. and Elizabeth contributed to a schism within the forces of the Woman Movement which centered around the New York and Boston factions. The radical feminist stand of the Revolution, (a paper issued by Susan B. from 1868 to 1870) and the commitment of Susan and Elizabeth to a federal campaign of woman suffrage alienated Lucy Stone and much of her Massachusetts constituency. The general unwillingness of the American Equal Rights Association to support Susan B.'s efforts for woman suffrage caused her to form the National Woman's Suffrage Association of America in 1868.²⁹⁰ It also led to the introduction of a 16th Ammendment which prescribed suffrage based on citizenship and not sex. Reaction to both of these moves was forthcoming.²⁹¹

At the 1869 Convention of the American Equal Rights Association, Susan B., along with Elizabeth confronted a Massachusetts-supported reactionary tribunal. Accused of rerudiating the principles of the Association, they were tried and convicted of:

- 1) advocacy of educated suffrage in opposition to universal suffrage
- 2) collaboration with a noxious anti-abolitionist, George F. Train in the Kansas Campaign of 1867
- 3) opposition to the general policy of the "Negro's Hour" where Negro suffrage attained full priority. 292

Through their support of the Association's accusations, Lucy Stone and her faction manifested their disassociation with the program, goals and ideology of Susan B. committed to a state by state campaign for suffrage and resigned to the supremacy of the "Negro Hour", they did not transcend the boundaries of their past reformist affiliation to forge a sex-based bond with Susan B. and Elizabeth. The result was a split in the forces of the Woman Movement into two camps. The conservative, anti-feminists remained within the context of old, American Woman Suffrage Association, while the Federalists and feminists gravitated to the new, National Woman's Suffrage Association. This new organization symbolized the institutionalization of the egotistic reform efforts of Susan B.. Radical and often criticized, it fought for a pure realization of the equality of women, attacking both institutional and psychological barriers. Susan B. was the major executrix of this work.

Under the presidency of Elizabeth and executive officership of Susan B., the National Association committed itself to concentration on woman's suffrage and support of the 16th Amendment. 293

The next twenty years were devoted to extensive campaigning in which Susan B. played the major role. In spite of her recognition of the liabilities of the state by state method, Susan lent much of her time and energy to numerous suffrage campaigns. Between 1870 and 1900 she made no less than 15 tours of the West and Pacific, ranging from Kansas to California. Each time suffrage legislation approached a state or territorial legislature, Susan B. was there.

Participation in individual state campaigns did not dissuade Susan from continual efforts to affect federal suffrage. In her wisdom, she understood the continued vitality of social prejudice which bred conservatism in the North. The political interests of the liquor faction combined with the reactionalism of the immigrant population to impede progress in the otherwise liberal West.

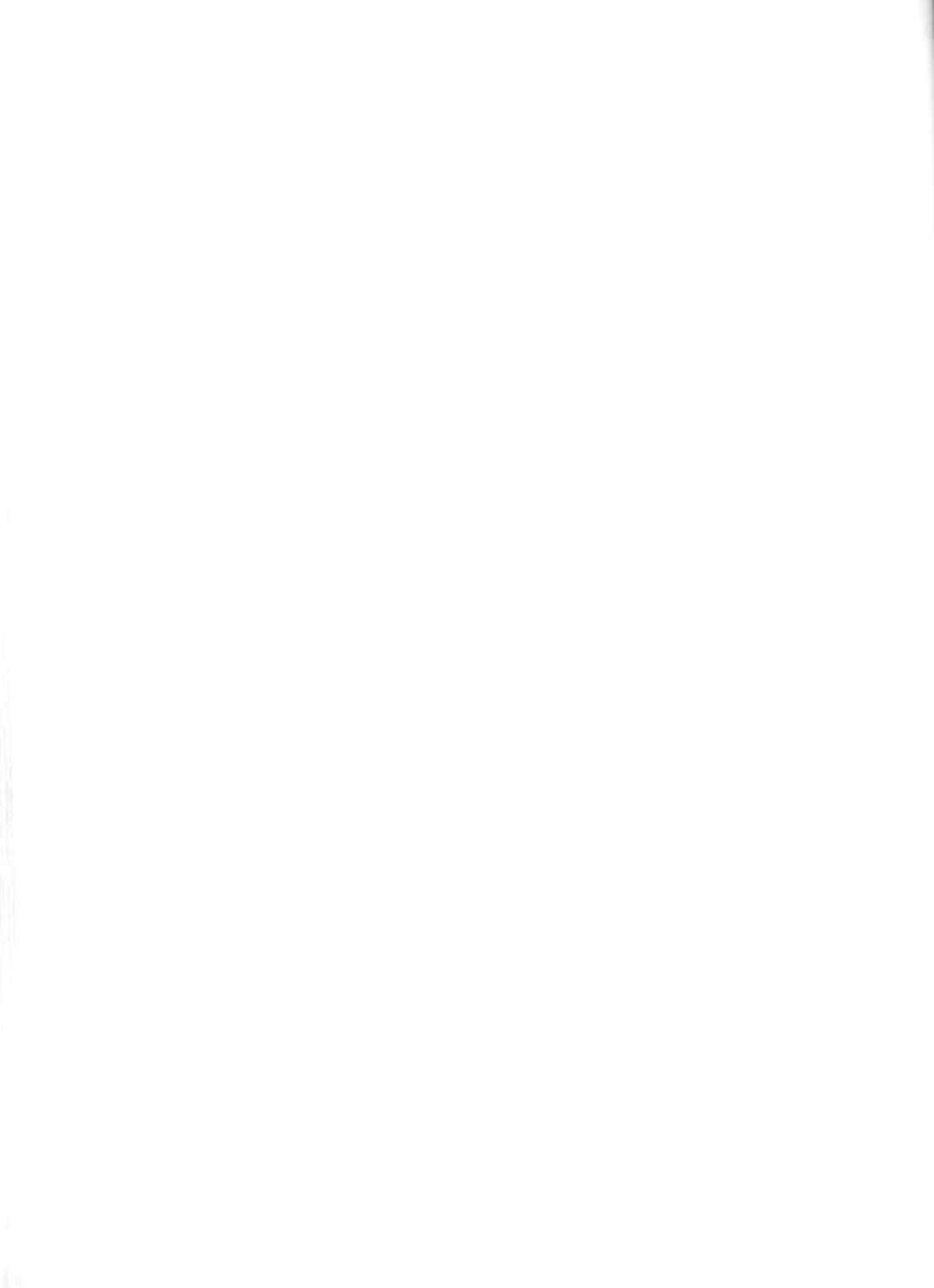
Beginning in 1871, Susan B. formed a plan to challenge the conventional interpretation of the 14th Amendment. Operating upon the contention of Francis Minor that states had the right to regulate but not prohibit suffrage,²⁹⁴ Susan was easily susceptible to the Woodhull Memorial to Congress. (a speech to Congress supporting woman suffrage given by Victoria Woodhull) While Elizabeth was attracted to the feminist liberalism of Victoria Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin, Susan was

enthralled by Victoria's supposition that the 14th and 15th Amendments supported woman suffrage.²⁹⁵ Testing out this supposition, Susan registered and voted in the Presidential Elections of 1872. This action resulted in her arrest and subsequent trial in June of 1873.²⁹⁶

The long range effect of Susan's liberal coup was a more constrictive interpretation of the 14th and 15th Amendments, passed by the Supreme Court in 1874. It ruled that these two amendments did not confere the right of suffrage on everyone. Separate states were also reaffirmed in their power to enact separate suffrage laws.²⁹⁷ From 1874 onward, Susan was forced to turn her efforts to the passage of a 16th Amendment.

1874 also saw the rise of a Social Purity Movement in the United States which constituted an indirect aid to the cause of woman suffrage. The experience of many reformers duplicated that of Susan's, 25 years previous. Work in social reform taught many young women that social changes were difficult to attain without political power.²⁹⁸ Realization of this fact brough countless workers into the ranks of the National Woman's Suffrage Association. Members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union comprised a large percentage of these numbers.

Besides providing more rational workers for the cause of suffrage, the social purity movement also created a more liberal



social atmosphere. Feminist criticisms of marriage and divorce blended with dissertations on prostitution, infanticide, wife and child abandonment and venereal disease.²⁹⁹ Many of the old taboo's of gentile speech were breaking down in the name of social regeneration. A more susceptible public attitude was resulting.

Although susceptibility was increasing, opposition was still pervasive. In 1877, a petition to Congress for a federal woman's suffrage ammendment, signed by 10,000 individuals, instigated only laughter.³⁰⁰ The pervasiveness of the social myth connecting woman suffrage and famillial destruction manifested itself in an anti-suffrage organization.³⁰¹ Inspite of this opposition, forces of social change were bringing about a confrontation between the old ideal of womanhood and new cultural imperatives of freedom. When Susan B. argued:

"Women must be educated out of their
unthinking acceptance of financial
dependence on man into mental and
economic independence." ³⁰²

She was expressing a social reality. Susan was supported in this contention by war and industrialization which increased economic independence for women.

The Civil War had depleted the supply of available men in the North, as in the South. This increased the number of women who were denied the option of marriage due to the demographic

facts of war and western migration. At the same time, industrialization was acting as an accelerator of social change in the domestic sector of society. Work previously done in the household was gradually being taken over by factories. In order to earn a living, many women were forced to look for work out of the home and to move into the general labor market. In so doing, they confronted both unequal employment opportunities and inadequate wages. Resulting social evils such as prostitution underscored the disequilibrium between economic necessity and social convention. Women were less and less able to rely on outdated role models to survive in a modernizing society. Thus, the appeals of the Woman Movement for equal pay and better jobs were becoming relevant to the new positions which women were forced to fill. Similarly, women began to realize that the road to the practical attainment of these goals lay through woman suffrage.³⁰³ Without the vote, women had no role in controlling their own economic and social destiny.

A less traditional society, the West dispensed with the old social patterns more easily than did the East. By 1885, progress in the status upgrading and role enlargement of women was evident on an institutional level. Kansas women voted in elections while school suffrage was won in twelve states. In addition, the Farmers' Alliance, Grange and Prohibition Party

all admitted female members. State universities, open to women graduated 2,000 women each year.³⁰⁴ As Alma Lutz recounts:

"In a sense, woman suffrage was becoming respectable in the West, and a woman was no longer ostracized by her friends for working with Susan B. Anthony." 305

Both attitudinal and institutional change were slowly filtering Eastward, for in 1887, a Woman Suffrage Amendment was seriously debated in the United States Senate. Much of the credit for this progress was due to the unfailing effort of Susan B. Anthony. From 1870 onward, her dedication to the cause of woman was total and continuous. Not only did Susan bridge the gap from altruistic to egotistic reform herself, but she helped force others to do so.

In the persons of Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, we have true rebels from the normative definition of 19th century female status and role. Impressed with the inequities of their sex in childhood, neither was shielded by a deviant subculture from the pressure of the overarching value system. Fully pressed by that value system throughout their lives, they nonetheless repudiated that system.

This repudiation occurred in a vacuum. No familial or peer group reinforcement substantially supported them in their beliefs during the entire course of their youth. So diffuse was the cult of True Womanhood and the Home that neither Lucy

nor Elizabeth encountered an individual or similar attitude until after the age of twenty-five.³⁰⁶

Cognizent of their dissatisfaction, they were baffled as to a means of enacting it. On a personal level, both Lucy and Elizabeth turned to education as an avenue of escape. Differing in the quality of their educational experience, (Lucy's was institutional and Elizabeth's, private) both visualized it as a form of role rebellion. Continued frustration led both young women to vocalize their rebellion through work in social reform.

For both Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, antislavery and temperance provided early channels for their reformist efforts. Within the context of the Antislavery and Temperance movements, their philosophy of woman's rights matured. This maturation took two forms: ideological and organizational.

Ideologically, sympathy for the fate of the slave transformed into empathy. Lucy Stone and Elizabeth gained a better understanding of their own sexual disabilities by publicizing the disabilities of others. This understanding was enhanced by interaction with a mutually reinforcing group of like-minded liberals represented within the American Anti-slavery Society.

The major figures in the Woman Movement of the 19th century all sprang from the fertile soil of abolition. These included:

Sarah and Angelina Grinke, Abbey Kelly Foster, Antoinette Brown, Ernestine Rose, Anna Dickinson, Paulina Wright Davis and Lydia Maria Child, to have just a few. Continual inter-action reinforced and further developed the ideological predisposition towards woman's rights which Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton evinced.

Aside from contributing to the ideological development of woman's rights doctrine, the Anti-slavery Society also provided a model for action. As Page Smith noted in his book, Daughters of the Promised Land.

"The Antislavery movement was, then, the means of entry into American political life of a vast number of women who organized, attended, and chaired meetings, prepared agenda, made motions, debated issues, circulated petitions and did all this in the face of passive and often active resistance from most men, from virtually all the "media" and from the great majority of their sister." 307

Antislavery work taught Lucy Stone and Elizabeth Cady Stanton how to give voice, in an effective manner, to their aspirations for woman's rights. Unlike the cases of Susan B. and Lucretia Mott, commitment to the cause of woman's rights had preceded involvement in other types of social reform for both Lucy and Elizabeth. Unconsciously, they used these alternative avenues of social reform as vehicles to self-expression. However, once

again the altruistic allure of abolition impinged upon an originally egotistic reformer. In the course of her abolition work, Lucy Stone lost the purity of her woman's rights impulse. Unlike Elizabeth, she did not transform into an egoistic reformer in 1866. Under the sway of a dual commitment to negro suffrage, she remained behind in the antislavery camp. Lacking the ability to transcend the platform of the American Equal Rights Association on the question of delayed female suffrage, she also failed to make the transition from structural reform to psychological reform of the status and role of women. Where Elizabeth was a radical feminist, Lucy Stone was not. She could not perceive the necessity for a total re-examination of feminine status and role. Thus she remains a limited revolutionary when placed next to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

The career of Lucy Stone is a study of converging and diverging forces. Her commitment, from youth, was to the cause of woman's rights. Impressed by the hardships suffered by her mother, Lucy sought to determine the veracity of their Biblical precedent through study. The desire for education led Lucy to her earliest experience in employment. Teaching provided a means for financing her way through school. It also exposed her to additional evidence of feminine inequality: salary dis-

crimination.

For 12 years Lucy intermittently taught and studied to procure her education. In the process of her education, Lucy became exposed to the cause of antislavery. Studying and teaching at Oberlin, she associated with former slaves as an instructress and as a fellow pupil. Thus, in the course of her higher education, abolition became intertwined with woman's rights in Lucy's reformist platform.

Upon graduation from Oberlin, Lucy began work in a field to which, she had consciously aspired since childhood: public speech. Her great desire was to be a lecturer on the two topics which held her interest: abolition and woman's rights. Ten years after hearing the Pastoral Letter of 1837 read aloud in her native Congregational Church, Lucy had the pleasure of speaking, in defiance of its tenants.³⁰⁸ Speaking from her brothers' pulpit in Gardner, Massachusetts, she delivered a lecture on woman's rights. This appearance inaugurated Lucy's career as "the first consistent lectress on woman's rights."³⁰⁹ As Elizabeth Cady Stanton was later to remark:

"Lucy Stone was the first person by whom the heart of the American public was deeply stirred on the woman question."³¹⁰

In her role as a woman's rights lectress, Lucy Stone was a path breaker. She began her lecture tours long before a

formal organization existed to give her backing.³¹¹ Solitary and self-financed, Lucy described her work in these words:

"I went from city to city and from state to state, everywhere carrying the good gospel of equal rights for women, seeking to create that wholesome discontent among women which would make them resent their unequal condition, and wish to escape from it." ³¹²

The topics on which she lectured were basically three: the social and industrial disabilities of woman, her legal and political disabilities and her moral and religious disabilities. In the course of her tours, Lucy met all genres of opposition. As one author has noted:

"The seed of the Woman's Movement germinated, not under shining sun and balmy showers, but pressed in unfriendly soil, subjected to the chilling animosity of merchants. And the storms of politicians and wilted down by the glaring heat of reverend gentlemen, all of whom united to prevent the female from speaking in public." ³¹³

Verbal opposition met many of Lucy's early lectures. Various referred to as a "she hyena", and a barroom-dwelling-cigar-smoker, Lucy met this opposition with resolution. ³¹⁴

"I surely would not be a public speaker if I sought a life of ease, for it will be a most laborious one; nor would I do it for the sake of honor, for I know that I shall be disesteemed, nay, even hated by some who are now my friends, or who profess to be. Neither would I do

it if I sought wealth, because I
could secure it with far more ease
and worldly honor by being a teacher." 315

Lucy fully realized the deviant path which she was taking when she embarked upon this career. Unlike Lucretia Mott, she was not backed by a tolerant Quaker community or a sympathetic husband. Even the contact which she had early established with the American Anti-slavery Society was not continuous. Shortly after commencing a career as a full time agent for this society, Lucy was forced to resign. Due to the selfishness incumbent in most great causes, Lucy was reprimanded by the Anti-slavery Society for mixing two pariah subjects: anti-slavery and woman's rights. It was the fear of Sam May, the Society's chief agent, that the cause of woman's rights would injure the antislavery effort by alienating an already hostile audience. When asked to curb her references to the position of women in her public speeches, Lucy replied:

"Well, Mr. May, I was a woman before I
was an abolitionist. I must speak for
the women."

From 1849 to 1860, woman's rights took precedence in Lucy Stone's career. Her antislavery lectures were confined to weekends while her woman's rights work was a five day a week endeavor.

However, out of her labors for the elevation of the Negro came a formal organization dedicated to remediation of the

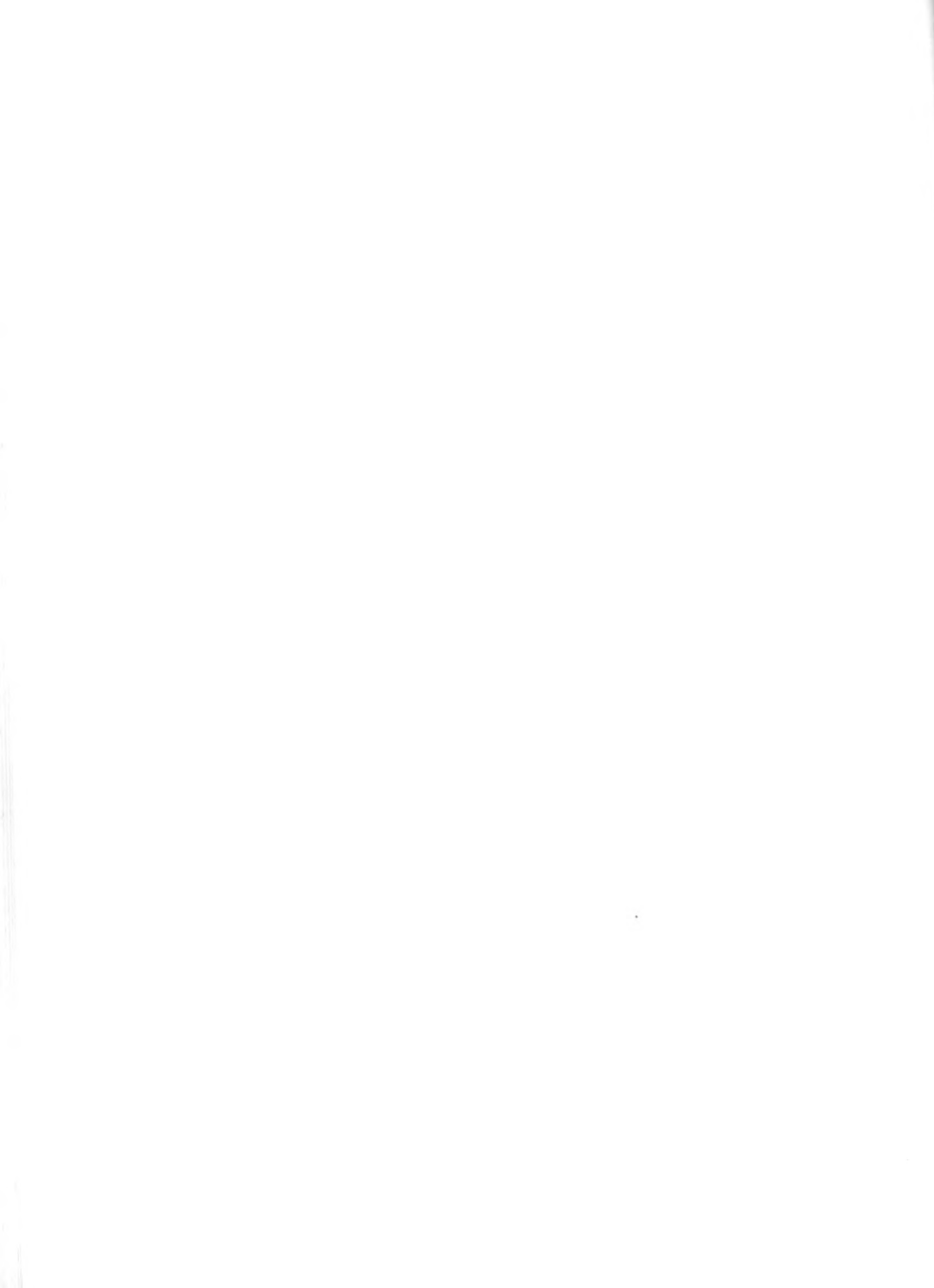
inequities of women. The National Anti-slavery Society Convention of 1850, held in Boston, was the scene of the first extra regional organizational impulse, to protest the status and role of women. Meeting in the ante-room of the Convention Hall at the close of the last session, nine feminine abolitionists made plans for a National Woman's Rights Convention. These included: Lucy Stone, Abbey Kelley Foster, Paulina Wright Davis, Eliza J. Kemmey, Mrs. Eliza Taft, Mrs. Dora Taft and Dr. Harriot K. Hunt.³¹⁶ Lacking money, contacts and Lucy and her female co-workers were forced to turn to their male counterparts for advice. Utilizing the methodology and patrons suggested by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, they created the first extra-regional woman's rights convention on an abolitionist base. Lacking self-confidence as well as expertise, the call for the convention was written by Dr. William Elder of Philadelphia in collaboration with the feminine members of the committee.³¹⁷ Signed by 89 men and woman from six states, the call drew 1,000 respondents. Thus, in October of 1850, Brinley Hall in Worcester, Massachusetts hosted the first National Woman's Rights Convention. The speakers, male and female were drawn wholly from the abolitionist ranks. Lucretia Mott, William L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Ernestine L. Rose, Lucy Stone, Antoinette L. Brown, Charles C.

Burleigh, Fredrick Douglass, Abbey Kelly Foster, and Sojourner Truth all spoke for the rights of women. It is the contention of Lucy Stone's daughter and biographer that:

"This first National Convention with its long list of illustrious signers from many states attracted the attention of the whole country, and really launched the woman's rights cause as a National Movement." 318

This convention awakened the consciousness of several prominent (or soon to be) women both at home and abroad. The conversion of Susan B. Anthony to the cause of woman's rights is dated from her exposure to an account of the Convention in the New York Weekly Tribune. Reports of the proceedings also impelled Harriet T. Mill to write for the Westminster Review an article which is credited with catalyzing the Woman Movement in Britain.³¹⁹ The series of yearly conventions which followed the 1850 convention all evinced the efforts of Lucy Stone. A constant participant, she also acted as chief organizer until her marriage and published the proceedings at her own expense. These publications, in pamphlet form, became the first woman's rights tracts. They were distributed by Lucy wherever she lectured.

The roots of an organized Woman's Movement were firmly planted in the cause and abolition throughout the 1840's and 50's. During this period, reformers such as Lucy Stone cross-cut both major causes. Ancillary social reform causes such as



temperance, also contributed workers to and drew workers from the pool of social reformers, concentrated predominately in the North. For instance, Lucy Stone, along with Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton all attended The Whole World's Temperance Convention of 1853, in New York. Individuals who crosscut all three organizations: Antislavery, Temperance and Woman's Rights, included: Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Abbey Kelley Foster, Stephen Foster, Antoinette Brown, Sarah Grimke and Angelina Grimke Weld, Theodore Weld, Pauline Wright Davis, Ernestine Rose, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison.

A mutually reinforcing peer group existed within these three causes throughout the 50's. Their intersections provided social and moral support to all three bodies of reformers. Confronted by opposition within larger society, such reinforcement was necessary for the maintenance of the deviant values and behavior enacted by all three groups.

Membership in all three of these organizations provided a basis for a sense of sorority which slowly emerged among the female constituents of Temperance, Antislavery and Woman's Rights. Drawn together by common causes, common experiences and common sex, they began to follow a set of common mores. As early as 1851, a sense of group cohesiveness was manifest in adoption

of the Bloomer dress by a small number of convinced temperance, antislavery and woman's rights advocates. These included: Mrs. Miller, (the originator) Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, Paulina Wright Davis, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Mrs. William Barleigh, Cecelia Burleigh, Charlotte Beebe Wilbour, Helen Jarvis, Lydia Jenkins, Amelia Willard and Dr. Harriet N. Austin.³²⁰ Lucretia Mott was not included in this group simply because,

"To her, lines of dress became important only as an expression of inner faith and humility of spirit." ³²⁰

The advantages of the bloomer dress in terms of health and movement did not outweigh the petty annoyances and persistent persecution incurred by its adherents ridicule and harassment were met by the advocates of dress reform at every turn. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton was later to note:

"..for great are the penalties of those who dare to resist the behests of the tyrant Custom." ³²¹

Although it increased the sense of sorority among its adherents, consistent social pressure forced the eventual abandonment of the bloomer dress. By 1854, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan had all given up the bloomer. The ridicule it incurred interfered with their larger reform efforts.³²²

Dress reform was only one manifestation of a growing sense



of sorority among female reformers. Continuous attendance at the National Woman's Rights Convention also served to bind reformers together in the cause of woman's rights. However, in the midst of cohesion, a split was developing which would increase throughout the 60's. Centering around personality and program differences, it would lead to the formation of two separate suffrage associations by 1870.

1853 saw Lucy Stone campaigning for the passage of a woman's suffrage petition in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. This occasion marked the beginning of a life long program of activism, devoted to the acquisition of woman suffrage. It was Lucy Stone's firm conviction that enfranchisement was the primary path to sexual equality. For this reason, she believed that suffrage work should be womens' first concern. As their first concern, it should be singlemindedly pursued, undiluted by other woman's rights pursuits. Adherence to this single minded program of suffrage is regarded as one of the causes of the conflict which eventually split the Woman Movement. It brought Lucy into conflict with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony who adhered to feminist as well as political reform. Thus, while Lucy divided her time between care for her younger daughter and work for the war effort, Elizabeth and Susan were developing an increasingly radical program of woman's rights.

The Civil War represented a watershed in the course of the Woman Movement. Prior to the end of the Civil War, the causes of Antislavery and Woman's Rights were amiably linked by the common sympathy and work of both factions. During the course of the War, the Woman Movement suspended active campaigning and devoted itself to the war effort and the emmanicipation of the black population. Policy differences between Lucy, and Elizabeth and Susan were overshadowed by the war effort. Along with Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy participated in the National Loyal League. Together they labored to bring a sense of political awareness and participation to the Women of the North.

After the specter of war receded, dormant differences, as well as new ones, reasserted themselves. The reconstruction policy of the abolitionists broke the alliance between the radical sector of the Woman Movement (Susan B. and Elizabeth) and the majority of the antislavery adherents. The War itself had functioned to accelerate issues of status and enfranchisement for the American Woman.³²³ Conflict appeared when members of the Antislavery faction, within the context of the American Equal Rights Association, refused to recognize these issues as pressing. Lucy Stone alienated herself with this faction.

In the conflict which centered around passage of the 14th

Amendment, Lucy Stone identified herself as a moderate suffragette. Alienated by personal difference and the experience of the Kansas campaign, she held that all possible effort should be made to include women in the 14th Amendment. If this proved impossible, Lucy believed that women should labor for the passage of the Bill, irregardless.

Adaption of this stand marks Lucy as a somewhat transitional figure in the Woman Movement. She typifies the conjugation of two great forces: Antislavery and Woman's Rights. Her commitment to both prevented her total commitment to either. Still tied to the tradition of altruistic reform, she like Lucretia, is unable to proceed to fully egotistic reform. Total commitment to a cause, not conciliation, makes a successful revolution. In this respect, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton typified total revolutionaries and the new phase of the Woman Movement. The 14th Amendment contraversly set them free. The opposition of the Garrisonians to the question of a joint suffrage amendment acted as a catylst and turned these two women and their followers in upon themselves. Due to this opposition, they separated themselves from the cause of the black man and concentrated their efforts solely upon the woman cause.

Lucy Stone represents the antithesis of this radical stand.

Her moderate principles found voice in the American Woman's Suffrage Association in 1870. Non-sectarian and non-partisan, it appealed to her humanitarian sentiments. Under the presidency of Henry Ward Beecher, it operated on a delegate system, espoused *mobility*, annual meetings and worked for state endorsement of woman suffrage.³²⁴ It also guaranteed male membership and the right to hold office.³²⁵

Although dulled by separation, the animosity between the National and American branches of the Woman Suffrage Association grew throughout the 70's. Matters were not helped by the establishment of the Woman's Journal, in 1870, just one year after the Revolution was disbanded. Lucy Stone took on the job of fundraiser and assistant editor for the Journal. Edited by Mary A. Livermore in its first years and assisted by T. W. Higginson, Julia Ward Howe and William Lloyd Garrison, it provided an ever available platform for the cause of woman's rights for 47 years.³²⁶ Upon the retirement of Ms. Livermore, Lucy and her husband, Henry assumed the editorship and held it for years. It is noted by her daughter, Alice, that the Journal was one of the greatest joys, as well as burdens of her mothers' career.

In addition to her publication work, Lucy had also assumed numerous organizational and executive endeavors. In 1866, she was named President of the New Jersey Women's Suffrage Associat-

ion. In 1868, she helped organize the New England Women Suffrage Association and in 1870, the Massachusetts Association. Lecturing also took up much of her time. Not until 1887, at the age of 69, was she forced to give up extensive tours due to illness. From this time forward, she confined herself to addressing women's clubs, schools, parlour meetings and granges.³²⁷ Until her death in 1893, she continued to lecture and work on the Journal.

Reunion of the National and American Woman's Suffrage Associations did not come until 1889. This reunion was due, not so much to a reconciliation of old differences as to the pressure of the second generation of suffrage workers.³²⁸ They believed that unification would ensure a more rapid acquisition of suffrage. However, the differences which separated the first generation remained.

As we have noted, one of the main conflicts was ideological. It was the conflict between radical feminism and moderate political reformism. Elizabeth Cady Stanton is regarded as the engineer of 19th century feminism. She looked for a reform of the inner spirit of society as well as a political change, which would recognize the achievements and claims of women.³²⁹ Elizabeth manifested this concern by pursuit of marriage, divorce and religious reform contiguous to her efforts for political reform

and suffrage. Advocation of these reforms often led to association with socially pariah individuals. Lucy Stone could not ascribe to the mixture of all four strains of reform at once. Even less could she stomach the liberal stand which Elizabeth and her co-worker Susan took on unconventional individuals such as Victoria Woodhull. Aligning Elizabeth's brand of feminist liberalism with moral degeneration, Lucy accused Elizabeth and Susan of corrupting the cause of woman suffrage. In addition to her propensity for altruistic over egotistic reform, Lucy was also hampered by her conservative, moralistic reform impulses. She could not effect a transition to radical feminist reform. What was it in Elizabeth that had moved her beyond political reform, to a higher awareness of necessary social-structural alterations in prevailing institutions? What was it that induced her to move from reformism to radicalism in affecting these alterations? Perhaps the differential factors may be best seen through comparison with Lucy Stone, who followed a different path.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, like Lucy, gained her woman's rights impulse in childhood. Unlike Lucy, she did not embark upon an independent career in pursuit of reform. (In fact, she never experienced independent employment of any type in her life.) It was not until after her marriage in 1840 that

Elizabeth commenced her work for women's rights.

Exposure to the London Convention and its female delegates awakened in Elizabeth a germinal desire for protest.³³⁰ This desire was not realized for eight years. Not until Elizabeth was confronted with the full constraints of the normative status and role of wife and mother did she act. This confrontation came after two years of residence in Seneca Falls.

Residing on the outskirts of town with poor servants, no near neighbors and a frequently absent husband, Elizabeth began to react to the duties of increasing maternity.³³¹ Her sense of frustration was increased by the memory of the active life she had led in reform-minded Boston. After two years residence in Seneca Falls, Elizabeth remarked:

"I now fully understood the practical difficulties most women had to contend with in the isolated household, and the impossibility of woman's best development if in contact, the chief part of³³² her life, with servants and children."

The result of this awareness was the Seneca Falls Convention.

"My experience at the World's Antislavery Convention, all I had read of the legal status of women and the oppression I saw everywhere together swept across my soul, intensified now by many personal experiences. It seemed as if all the elements had conspired to impell me to some onward



step. I could not see what to do or where to begin. My only thought was a public meeting for protest and discussion." 332

Although pre-dated by abolition, temperance and prison reform work, Seneca Falls marks the beginning of Elizabeth's public career in woman's rights.

The first meeting, held at the Methodist Church, was more of a consciousness-raising session than a plotted and planned beginning to a revolutionary movement. Despite its regional limitations, Seneca Falls had national impact. The degree of publicity surprised its original constituents.

"With our Declaration of Rights and Resolutions for a text, it seemed as if every man who could wield a pen prepared a homily on "woman's sphere." All the journals from Maine to Texas seemed to strive with each other to see which could make our Movement appear the most ridiculous." 332

The extent of negative public sanction was a surprise to all participants. Elizabeth remembers:

"If I had had the slightest premonition of all that was to follow that convention, I fear I should not have had the courage to risk it." 332

The quality of her entrance into a career in Woman's rights differed from that of Lucy Stone. At the age of 33, Elizabeth began her career, en masse and in relative innocence of the



opposition she was to encounter. In contrast, Lucy Stone evolved in a less spectacular manner, as a youthful, solitary lecturer, completely aware of her potential opposition.

The course of Elizabeth career from 1848 to 1858 also differed from that of Lucy's. The difference is primarily attributed to the duties of Elizabeth's maternity. Her role of mother prevented her from pursuing a far-flung lecturing career. Operating within the confines of her role, she did attempt to exert her influence on a community basis.

After Seneca Falls, Elizabeth engaged in limited consciousness raising activities designed to bring the cause of Woman's Rights into the public eye. These activities were reactionary as well as initiative. They included submission of rebuttals to journalistic attacks on woman's rights and private correspondence geared to arouse friends to the cause of woman. Elizabeth also corresponded with extra-state conventions in order to keep herself informed. Within her immediate community, she encouraged use of her home as a center of social gathering and promoted a conversation club to prompt discussion of current issues.³³³

Due to her extended fertility, Elizabeth's early participation in the battle for woman's rights was confined to speech



writing and program formation. The symbiotic relationship which grew-up between Elizabeth and Susan B. after 1850, both reflected and reinforced this circumstance. As Elizabeth herself was given to comment:

"In thought and sympathy we were one,
and in division of labor we exactly
complemented each other."³³⁴

Where Susan B. supplied the facts and figures, Elizabeth provided the rhetoric.³³⁴ Her ability to form such a relationship, to a certain degree, rescued Elizabeth from slipping into "the narrow selfishness of family."³³⁵ By the same token, their interaction resulted in a radicalization of the Woman Movement, which stemmed from Elizabeths' writings and thought. Working together, these two women developed a cohesive and well planned program for social change based on:

- 1) a widening and consolidation of political and economic rights for women
- 2) an analysis of sexuality and a critical examination of marriage and the family as social institutions.

In developement of this second consideration, Elizabeth and Susan radicalized the Woman Movement and subsequently alienated many of its followers. Among the alienated was Lucy Stone.

Up until 1860, the general aims of Lucy and Elizabeth coincided. Abolition, temperance, educational discrimination,



unequal wages, woman's property rights, Biblical interpretation and various sex-based legal injustices were all causes for which Elizabeth and Lucy felt a common sympathy.³³⁶ Even the limited degree of public activism which Elizabeth practiced during this period, coincided with Lucy's aims. For instance, from 1843 til 1848, Elizabeth lobbied for the Married Woman's Property Bill, pending in New York. In 1854, she delivered her first speech before the New York State Legislature requesting woman suffrage. Up until the war, she was an almost constant participant in the yearly National Woman's Rights Convention.

In 1858, with the birth of her only child, even the structure of Lucy's participation in the Woman Movement approached Elizabeth's experience. Circumscribed by the duties of maternity, she too engaged in localized activism. Lucy's 1858 protest against taxation without representation, resulting in the liquidation of her household goods, is a prime example of geographically limited, but diffuse activism.

Although Lucy and Elizabeth were brought closer by Lucy's maternity, Susan B. became alienated. Susan's bitter criticism of Lucy for alleged desertion of the cause of Woman's Rights, contributed to the personal animosity between the two throughout the 60's, 70's, and 80's.

More important than personal differences, a separation in reformist policy became evident in 1860. It was in this year that Elizabeth and Susan inaugurated their program of Public examination of the institutions of marriage and divorce. In 1860, Elizabeth spoke out for a liberal divorce bill which was defeated in New York.³³⁷ She took her convictions to the 1860 session of the Woman's Rights Convention. The reactions both within and without the convention were "so alarming", that Elizabeth declared:

"..I began to feel that I had inadvertently taken out the underpinning from the social system."³³⁸

Opposed by Wendell Phillips as irrelevant, the Convention itself removed the question of the nature of marriage and divorce from its platform. Only Ernestine Rose, Lucretia Mott and Susan B. supported Elizabeth in her contention that the laws on marriage bore unequally upon the sexes and thus were a legitimate concern of the Convention.³³⁸

The blatant injustice of the court decision in the McFarland-Richardson trial of 1860, gave Elizabeth evidence in support of her contention. Divorce proceedings gave custody of a twelve year old boy to his father. In a fit of jealous rage, this man had shot a friend of the family.³³⁹ The inequity of the clement divorce laws which bound loveless wives to their brutish



husbands and rewarded child custody to the father in almost all cases, was made apparent. The protest meetings which Elizabeth sponsored in opposition to the McFarland-Richardson ruling were her last attempt at consciousness raising before the war.

During the war, Elizabeth joined with Lucy, Lucretia and others to work for the enfranchisement of the black man through the National Loyal League.³⁴⁰ At the war's end, Elizabeth resumed her commitment to a critical evaluation of marriage and the family. This new spirit of reform and liberalism was interned in the National Woman Suffrage Association.

With the dispersal of her family, Elizabeth was able to partake in active dissemination of her beliefs. From 1869 to 1874, she lectured extensively throughout ^{the} West.³⁴¹ Despite the National Association's ascription to a federal suffrage amendment, Elizabeth recognized the necessity of state action. Throughout the 80's Elizabeth and Susan B. lectured and organized for woman suffrage and institutional reform. If anything, Elizabeth became more radical with the passage of time. In her 75th year, Elizabeth began work on a woman's Bible. Its context held that:

"The canon and civil law; church and state; priests and legislators; all political parties and religious denominations have alike taught that woman was made after man, of man, and for man, an inferior being, subject to man. Creeds,

codes, scriptures and statues are all based on this idea. The fashions, forms, ceremonies and customs of society, church ordinances, and disciplines all grow out of this idea." ³⁴¹

The logical conclusion of such a belief was the necessity of a complete change in the social order: a revolution. Elizabeth affirmed this contention.

"For so far-reaching and momentous a reform as her complete independence, an entire revolution in all existing institutions is inevitable." ³⁴²

In spite of the fact that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association elected Elizabeth as its first President in 1890, it could not accept the totality of her beliefs. As a doctrine, the Woman's Bible was turned down by the National Association in 1896. Elizabeth's attempt to transmit her radicalism to the second generation of the Woman Movement by and large, failed. ³⁴² While all of the second generation were convinced suffragists, few were whole hearted feminists as were Elizabeth and Susan B.. ³⁴³ Alma Lutz documents Susan's fear of a de-radicalization of the Woman Movement in the second generation when she stated:

"...in their enthusiasm for efficient organization they might lose the higher concepts of freedom and justice which had been the driving force behind her work." ³⁴⁴

It is the belief of some analysts that this fear was justified. Authors such as William O'Neill credit bureaucratization within

the Woman Movement with a devitalization of principles
apparent in the second generation.³⁴⁴

Although her radical principles were not accepted per se,
the new image of woman which Elizabeth labored with Susan B.
to create was becoming more common. A true woman was evolving.
She was one who refused to follow the traditional course of
marriage and submission. Developing her own personality and
talents, she struggled to achieve outside the home. The True
Woman represented an active, rather than a passive force. The
arts, science, and business were all open to her efforts.

In the midst of her activism, the True Woman did not
become androgenous. Recognition and pride in her unique
feminine qualities were part of her individualism. These
qualities were personal, rather than stereotypic, self defined
rather than socially defined.

Ascription to the image of the True Woman did not preclude
the possibility of marriage. The feminist philosophy of
Elizabeth asserted

"Institutions, among them marriage, are
justly chargeable with many social and
individual ills, but after all, the
whole man or woman will rise above them."³⁴⁵

Elizabeths and Susan B.'s plan for developement of this
True Woman rested in four basic areas of: physical fitness,
co-education, industrial and agricultural education for women

and extra-marital occupations. Participation in each of these areas would create a new "ideal type" of woman who would successfully challenge the old virtues of piety, purity, domesticity and submissiveness, just as Elizabeth and Susan had done.

I consider radicalization within the Woman Movement to correlate with exclusive commitment to the creation of this ideal type of woman. All of these women internalized, accepted and acted upon this concept of a New Woman. However, only Elizabeth and Susan B. gave creation of the New Woman precedence. Constrained in both cases by their altruistic impulses, Lucretia and Lucy did not. For this reason, I would maintain that Susan and Elizabeth succeeded in totally superceding the old ideal of womanhood portrayed in the Cult of True Womanhood, where Lucretia and Lucy did not.

In the last part of the 19th century Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote a book entitled, Women and Economics. The basic assumption of this book was encapsulated in the sentence:

"What we do, as well as what is done to us, makes us what we are." ³⁴⁵

Recognizing the modifying nature of social conditions and social action, Ms. Gilman acknowledged that all women shared three things:

- 1) the environment of the material universe
- 2) reactionary forces of exercise
- 3) social conditions ³⁴⁶

Although Ms. Gilman did not anticipate it, utilization of the differential influence of these three factors provides the basis for various theories explaining the origin of the Woman Movement.

An economic interpretation, offered by Walter Lippmann attributes female rebellion in the 1830's to the effects of the industrial revolution. ³⁴⁷ Forcing an alteration of life-styles, it drew some women out of the home and kept others idle within it.

"The Industrial Revolution forced women to alter their styles of life and inevitably brought them into conflict with customs and institutions based on absolute economic factors." ³⁴⁷

A second group of theorists regard the Woman Movement as a response to the enlightenment ideals growing from the French



and American Revolutions. Ideological origins were added to economic origins.

Social disintegration has also been used as an explanation for the rise of the Woman Movement. Lasch and Taylor, in an article entitled, "Two kindred spirits: Sorority and Family in New England, 1839-1846," look to the conflicting values of the Victorian Cult of the Woman and the Home as the seat of feminine malcontent. The purity of woman which made her head of the home and guardian of public morality, prohibited cross-sexual relations. This dicotomy resulted in exclusive intra-sexual interaction and a repudiation of the home. Discontent was originally expressed in journalistic and church work and later in involvement in temperance, abolition of woman's rights work.³⁴⁸

Few theorists see the Woman Movement as a direct result of feminine oppression. However, many note a rising consciousness on the part of women of their own repression, resulting from exposure to the oppression of others. This theory holds that woman's consciousness of her own inequalities grew out of her efforts to alleviate the social, political and economic disabilities of others. Involvement in the Woman Movement, thus grew out of involvement in the social reforms of the 19th century, Temperance and especially Antislavery.



Wider in scope, this theory of rising consciousness appears to incorporate several of the aforementioned theories. Its content would run something like this: Industrialization multiplied the social ills of society which called for remedial action. The ideals of the cult of True Womanhood impelled some women to actively expand their guardianship of society to interventionistic action. Temperance and Antislavery were two areas in which women felt morally bound to intervene. However, zealous reformers soon found that

"At this same time American women had begun lecturing against slavery and found that in so doing they had to defend their right to do so, this leading to demands for their own political and legal 'emancipation!'"³⁴⁸

The similarities between the condition of the blackman and the conditions of women became increasingly evident. That their struggles came to be regarded as parallel struggles for rights is attested by various feminine abolitionists.

Emily Collins wrote:

"All through the Antislavery struggle, every word of denunciation of the wrongs of the southern slave, was, I felt, equally applicable to the wrongs of my own sex. Every argument for the emmanicipation of the colored man, was equally one for that of woman. And I was surprised that all Abolitionists did not see the similarity in the conditions of the two classes."³⁴³

Elizabeth Cady Stanton also wrote:

"A married woman has no more rights than a slave on a southern plantation. She takes the name of her master, holds nothing, owns nothing, can bring no action in her own name; and the principle on which she and the slave are educated is the same. The slave is taught what is considered best for him to know - which is nothing...A woman cannot follow out the impulses of her own mind in her sphere any more than the slave can in his sphere. Civilly, socially and religiously, she is what man choses her to be, nothing more or less and such is the slave." 349

Awakened to their own disabilities, the ideas of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution pressed women towards remediation. The result was the rise of an organized Woman Movement in the United States. Consideration of the lives of Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony lends weight to this hypothesis.

Each of these women internalized a deviant status/role in childhood which worked itself out in the course of their involvement in social reform. Through their social reform efforts they came to a full awareness of the inequalities of women which they had perceived in childhood. In their efforts for woman's rights, Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan all contradicted the prevailing feminine stereotype and institutionalized the deviant role internalized in childhood. They are

examples of a gradual awakening of feminine rights and gradual acceptance of their deviant roles. Rather than portraying them as full blown rebels, fresh from the womb, I would categorize Lucretia, Lucy, Elizabeth and Susan as the gradual products of social, physical and psychological forces. The differential impact of these forces determined their roles in the Woman Movement and the degree to which they were able to act out their sex role rebellion.

FOOTNOTES

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²⁴⁹Cromwell, p. 142.

²⁵⁰Ibid ., p. 152.

²⁵¹Cromwell, p. 153.

²⁵²Ibid., p. 134.

²⁵³Cromwell, p. 337.

²⁵⁴Hare, p. 223.

²⁵⁵Cromwell, p. 129.

²⁵⁶Parton, p. 376.

²⁵⁷Cromwell, p. 152.

²⁵⁸Ibid., p. 139.

²⁵⁹Hare, p. 210.

²⁶⁰Lutz, p. 17.

²⁶¹Ibid., p. 19.

²⁶²Lutz, p. 30.

²⁶³Ibid., p. 32.

²⁶⁴Lutz, p. 32.

²⁶⁵Ibid., p. 20.

²⁶⁶Lutz, p. 21.

²⁶⁷Ibid., p. 32.

²⁶⁸Lutz, p. 53.

²⁶⁹Ibid., p. 61.

²⁷⁰Lutz, p. 62-63.

- ²⁷¹Lutz, p. 91.
- ²⁷²Ibid., p.39.
- ²⁷³Lutz., p. 42.
- ²⁷⁴Ibid., p. 47.
- ²⁷⁵Lutz, p. 53-54.
- ²⁷⁶Ibid., p. 56-57.
- ²⁷⁷Lutz, p. 81.
- ²⁷⁸Hare, p. 219.
- ²⁷⁹Lutz, p. 83.
- ²⁸⁰Ibid., p. 92.
- ²⁸¹Lutz, p. 99-101.
- ²⁸²Ibid., p. 107-112.
- ²⁸³Lutz, p. 112.
- ²⁸⁴Ibid., p. 114.
- ²⁸⁵Lutz, p. 115.
- ²⁸⁶Ibid., p. 119.

²³⁷Lutz, p. 119.

²³⁸Ibid.

²³⁹Lutz, p. 124.

²⁹⁰Ibid., p. 146.

²⁹¹Lutz, p. 160.

²⁹²Ibid., p. 161-164.

²⁹³Lutz, p. 104.

²⁹⁴Ibid., p. 30.

²⁹⁵Lutz, p. 131-133.

²⁹⁶Ibid., p. 193.

²⁹⁷Lutz, p. 210.

²⁹⁸Ibid., p. 213.

²⁹⁹Lutz, p. 222.

³⁰⁰Ibid., p. 229.

³⁰¹Lutz, p. 232.

³⁰²Ibid.

³⁰³Lutz, p. 232-234.

³⁰⁴Ibid., p. 241.

³⁰⁵Lutz, p. 241.

³⁰⁶Parton, p. 345.
Blackwell, p. 30.

³⁰⁷Smith, p. 111.

³⁰⁸Blackwell, p. 25.

³⁰⁹Ibid., p. 94.

³¹⁰Blackwell, p. 94.

³¹¹Ibid., p. 90.

³¹²Blackwell, p. 92.

³¹³Hare, p. 203.

³¹⁴Blackwell, p. 90.

³¹⁵Ibid., p. 65.

³¹⁶Blackwell, p. 90.

³¹⁷Ibid., p. 95.

³³²Parker, p. 254.

³³²Stanton, p. 149.

³³²Ibid.

³³³Staton, p. 152.

³³⁴Ibid., p. 166.

³³⁴Stanton, p. 166.

³³⁵Ibid., p. 165.

³³⁶Stanton, p. 165.

³³⁷Ibid., p. 216.

³³⁸Stanton, p. 225.

³³⁸Ibid., p. 219.

³³⁹Stanton, p. 227.

³⁴⁰Ibid., p. 235.

³⁴¹Stanton, p. 263-283.

³⁴²Parker, p. 277.

³⁴²Ibid., p. 281.

³¹³Blackwell, p. 97.

³¹⁹Ibid., p. 99.

³²⁰Blackwell, p. 99.

³²⁰Cromwell, p. 110.

³²¹Stanton, p. 204.

³²²Lutz, p. 39-40.

³²³Lewis, p. 37.

³²⁴Blackwell, p. 216.

³²⁵Ibid.

³²⁶Blackwell, p. 204.

³²⁷Ibid., p. 264.

³²⁸Lutz, p. 249.

³²⁹Rossi, p. xii.

³³⁰Stanton, p. 83.

³³¹Parker, p. 252.

³³²Stanton, p. 149.

³⁴²O'Neill, p. xxi.

³⁴³Lutz, p. 273.

³⁴⁴Ibid., p. 274.

³⁴⁴O'Neill, p. xxii.

³⁴⁵Lutz, p. 76.

³⁴⁵Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics, (New York: Source Books Press, 1970), p. 1.

³⁴⁶Ibid., p. 3.

³⁴⁷O'Neill, p. 3-4.

³⁴⁷Ibid.

³⁴⁸William A. Taylor and Christopher Lasch, "Two Kindred Spirits: Sorority and Family in New England, 1839-1846, " New England Quarterly 36, (March, 1963): 23-41.

³⁴⁸Lewis, p. 36.

³⁴⁸Ibid., p. 32.

³⁴⁹Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage, eds., History of Woman Suffrage vol. 1, (New York: Fowler and Wells, Publishers, 1831), p. 311.

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